



Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia

William D. Phillips, Jr.

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William D. Phillips, Jr.

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CONTENTS

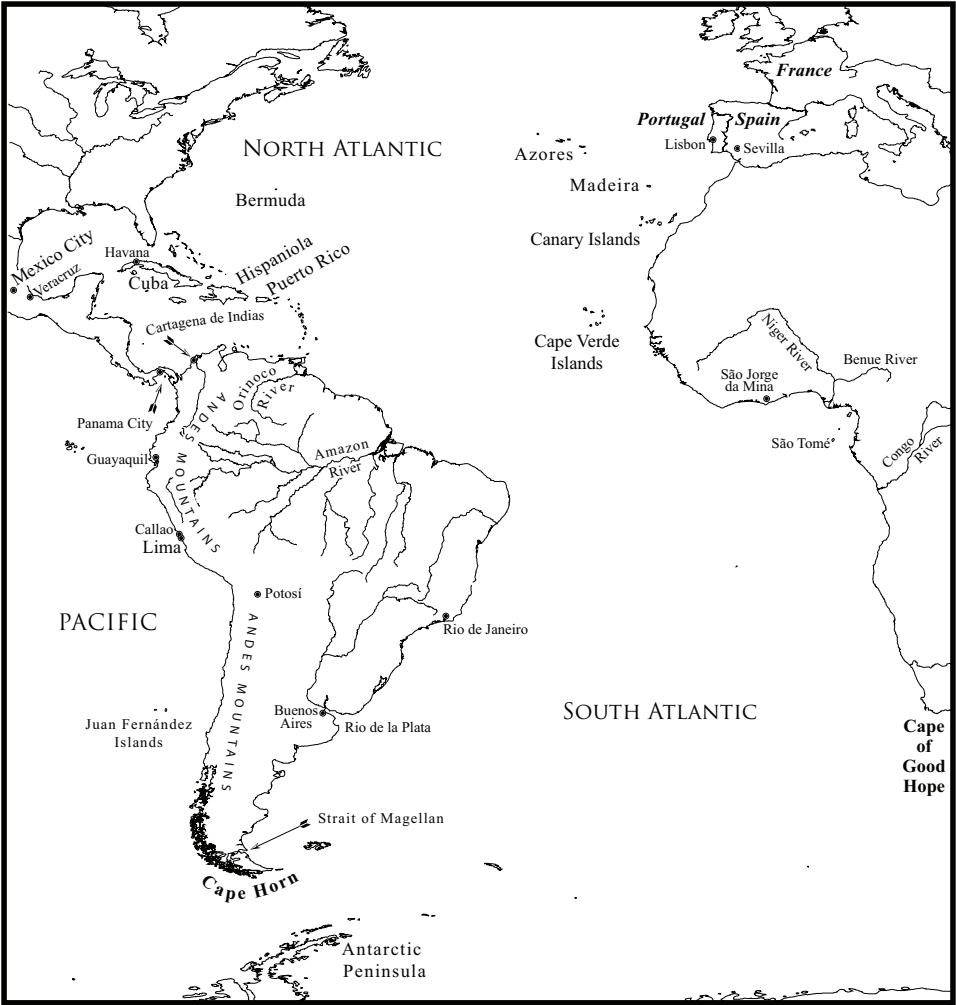
Maps	vii
Introduction	I
Chapter 1. The History of Slavery in Iberia	10
Chapter 2. To Become a Slave	28
Chapter 3. The Traffic in Slaves	54
Chapter 4. To Live as a Slave	79
Chapter 5. To Work as a Slave	103
Chapter 6. To Become Free	122
Epilogue: The Wider Extensions of Iberian Slavery	146
Notes	163
Bibliography	217
Index	247
Acknowledgments	259



Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands, with some principal towns and cities mentioned in the text. Map by Lawrence V. Mott.



Mediterranean and adjacent lands. Map by Lawrence V. Mott.



Atlantic and southeastern Pacific areas. Map by Lawrence V. Mott.

Introduction

Slavery (*servitus*) is named from saving (*servare*), for among the ancients, those who were saved from death in battle were called slaves (*servi*).

—Isidore of Seville, early seventh century

This present work of synthesis surveys the history of slavery in Iberia from ancient times to the modern period. It relies in part on the studies of slavery I published in the 1980s but differs greatly in its content, focus, and structure from those earlier works. Though I cite a few archival sources, I have based the work on my reading of as much of the available scholarly literature as possible. This has occupied me for a longer period than I anticipated or would have preferred, in large part because the study of slavery in Iberia has become popular among scholars since the late 1980s. Their publications appeared in a boom period that began in the second half of the 1980s and peaked around the year 2000, though important contributions have continued to appear.¹ Several factors accounted for the accelerated production, including the greater number of students pursuing advanced degrees and an increased availability of venues for publication.² This outpouring of material has made it impossible for any one individual to read and digest all that is available. The bibliography indicates what I have been able to do.

Before the 1980s there were a few pioneering studies, and from the mid-twentieth century the most prominent scholar on the topic was Charles Verlinden (1907–1996). His massive survey of slavery in medieval Europe, the first volume of which appeared in 1955 and covered Iberia and France, relied heavily on legal sources and created interest in a subject that had not been comprehensively studied before.³ In addition to his major survey, Verlinden's wide-ranging scholarship included items that he published on medieval slavery for well over half a century.⁴ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (1909–2003)

opened the debate and the scholarly path for the study of slavery in Spain's early modern period with a seminal article in 1952 on slavery in Castile.⁵ Together, the works of Verlinden and Domínguez Ortiz sparked renewed interest in an almost forgotten topic. In 1981 Jacques Heers, the distinguished historian of Genoa, published a survey of the historical literature on slavery in the Mediterranean in which Spain figured prominently. Heers stressed domestic slavery and related it to the work done by free domestic servants.⁶ In 1985 my survey of the medieval continuity of slavery devoted considerable attention to Iberia.⁷

Several able historians anticipated the boom in Iberian slavery studies in publications that appeared from the 1960s through the 1980s. Among the best known was Vicenta Cortés Alonso, who published many articles and an important book on slavery in Valencia at the time of the Catholic Monarchs.⁸ Early modern Valencia found its historian in Vicente Graullera Sanz.⁹ The city of Seville had one of Spain's largest populations of slaves, and Alonso Franco Silva published a major work on slavery in Seville that appeared in 1979.¹⁰ Ruth Pike provided important discussions of slavery in Seville in an article and in sections of two of her books and later wrote a book on Spanish penal servitude in the early modern period.¹¹ The topics of raids across religious lines and the subsequent captivity and ransoming attracted the attention of James Brodman for the Middle Ages and Ellen Friedman for the early modern period.¹² The Canary Islands, the first stage of European conquest and colonization in the Atlantic, were another focal point for slavery. For slavery in the Canaries, Manuel Lobo Cabrera was the major historian.¹³ The most prominent book on slavery in Portugal was that of A. C. de C. M. Saunders.¹⁴

The majority of the older and more recent studies deal with areas of Christian Iberia in the late medieval and early modern centuries. The medieval studies have been most abundant for areas of the late medieval Crown of Aragon, particularly Catalonia, Valencia, and Mallorca. For Castile, the chronological focus has been the period of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Notably, these works have usually concentrated on local areas and regional patterns, with scholars examining local sources and publishing in local venues. At times these publications dealt with places with important slave populations, whereas elsewhere the number of slaves in the place studied was miniscule even though the records are comprehensive.¹⁵ Studies of slavery in Portugal have not appeared in anything approaching the same numbers as those in Spain, but important and distinguished works are available.

There still has been no comprehensive early modern survey equivalent to

Verlinden's work on slavery in the Middle Ages. French scholars have perhaps taken the broadest view. Bernard Vincent published a number of important articles on early modern slavery, most of them focused on specific locales. We will mention them in their proper place, but one cuts across regional lines.¹⁶ Vincent collaborated with Alessandro Stella in an article surveying recent work up to 1996 on slavery in early modern Spain.¹⁷ Stella himself went on to publish a book, *Histoires d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique*,¹⁸ dealing with the early modern period and heavily weighted toward evidence derived from ecclesiastical records in Cádiz. It is useful for Stella's efforts to find and bring to the forefront the words of the slaves themselves, the "stories of slaves" of his title, and to document the extensive geographical mobility that some eighteenth-century slaves experienced.¹⁹

Among the locally focused studies of slavery in Spain, one of the most significant books in recent years is that of Aurelia Martín Casares on slavery in sixteenth-century Granada, published in 2000.²⁰ This is a work informed by wide reading in empirical and theoretical studies of slavery in Africa and the Americas and by close attention to recent developments in women's history and feminist theory. It has already proved to be highly influential for subsequent studies. The author's focus on the city of Granada provided her with a local case with a wealth of documentary sources and a somewhat atypical trajectory of the servile experience over the sixteenth century. Granada had a low level of slavery in that period, unlike the cities of eastern and southern Spain and southern Portugal, all of which were more closely linked with the sea-borne slave trade and which tended to have a higher percentage of slaves in the population. Nonetheless, the late sixteenth century saw a sharp upward jump in slave sales in Granada, as the defeated insurgents of the Morisco²¹ revolt and their wives and children ended up in captivity and flooded the slave market for a decade or so.

Martín Casares applied a series of skillful and well informed interpretations to her material. She emphasized that women slaves were more numerous throughout the medieval and early modern periods in most places scholars have studied. Among the pioneers in commenting on a number of questions about why more women were sold than men, she has suggested that scholars should reflect on how the lives and work of men and women slaves differed, why women tended to command higher prices, what premium derived from women's reproductive abilities, and the vulnerability of women slaves to sexual exploitation within the domestic context. She also insisted that the individuals should be accorded their full humanity. She excoriated earlier scholars for

their use of terms that objectify individuals and groups. She argued that the modern use of words such as “piece” (*pieza*) to mean an individual slave, or male (*varón*) and female (*hembra*) to describe men and women, has tended to perpetuate the attitudes of the sixteenth-century slave owners. She even avoided to the extent possible the word “slave” (*esclavo* and *esclava*), preferring to use the term “enslaved person” (as, for example, *mujer esclavizada*) or “captive” (e.g., *hombre cautivado*). In this way, she endeavored to emphasize that slavery was a condition people were subjected to, and, even though enslaved, they were still human beings, not something less. This is a worthwhile reminder to all those who study slavery in the past, as is her application of feminist and gender theory.

Other scholars have recently published significant works on slavery in Iberia. These include Roser Salicrú i Lluch, who works on Catalonia and particularly Barcelona, and Debra Blumenthal, whose primary focus is Valencia. In 1998 Salicrú i Lluch published an important book on slaves and slave owners in late medieval Barcelona. Since then she has published significant articles on topics such as slaves in artisanry, fugitives, and the profitability of slavery.²² Blumenthal’s major work to date is *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia*,²³ in which she mines the rich late medieval documentation of the city and kingdom and comes to new conclusions about the agency slaves exercised, both as individuals and in collectivities, and unusual tasks assigned to slaves, such as settling their owners’ scores when honor was involved. They attacked their owners’ rivals and in the process did harm to the rivals’ bodies as well as damage to their reputations.

Along with the expanding base of data provided by the new studies, there have been significant changes from the 1970s to the first decade of the twenty-first century in the interpretations of many aspects of the history of slavery. Manumission is one example. Writing in the late 1970s, Alfonso Franco Silva stated that “according to the documents studied, the lives of the slave . . . turned out to be acceptable enough and not harsh. . . . [The owners] integrated [the slaves] into the family, as servants, companions, and guardians of their children. If they were faithful and comported themselves well, they could almost be assured that they would be freed upon the death of the master.”²⁴ Martín Casares, writing a generation later, interpreted the lives of slaves to be much harsher and bleaker, and suggested that few slaves ended their lives as freed people, at least in Granada.

Other major interpretive changes in scholarship include the increasing recognition that slavery in Iberia was complex with significant change over

time, regional variations, and a wide range of assignments for slaves; that more women than men were slaves; and that slaves were not just domestics. Many worked primarily in other pursuits, as we will see. Until recently, scholars have tended to emphasize slavery as a system of regulating involuntary labor and to regard the slaves, usually considered to be men, as involuntary laborers. This is probably because of the influence of the well-studied history of slavery in the United States, where numbers were great, the majority of slaves were men, and plantation agriculture dominated the popular imagination. Nothing so extensive and intensive as plantation agriculture existed in medieval and early modern Iberia. Slavery there was on a much smaller scale. Slaves in Iberia worked as artisans and agricultural workers, and also occupied different roles in the households in which they found themselves. Domestic slaves often worked seasonally in agriculture. It is no longer possible to dismiss domestic slavery as nonproductive or to consider it irrelevant. It is clear that not all slaves lived in the household of their owners; this recognition is another significant departure from the traditional interpretation. Some of these slaves operated freely, while many others worked for those who rented their labor for any number of tasks ranging from nursemaiding to shipbuilding. Despite the fact that the numbers and percentages of slaves in the Iberian population were never large, the intrinsic importance and the complexity of slavery in Iberia justifies the number and scope of the many recent publications. This present work relies heavily upon them and introduces many of them to the wider scholarly community.

The study of slavery is complicated and involves much more than a simple dichotomy between slave and free or slavery and freedom. Individuals could find themselves at any number of points between full slavery and full freedom, as we will see in the chapters to come. Captives in warfare could be held until exchanges of prisoners took place between the contending parties. If they were not exchanged, they could be enslaved. It was similar for those captured in raids: some could be exchanged, others ransomed, and the unlucky and unredeemed ended up as slaves. Slaves could seek freedom by flight. Slaves could be manumitted by any number of ways. A family member or a friend could purchase their freedom. Their owner might agree to manumit them during his lifetime or upon his death through his last will and testament. He might allow them to work to save money to buy their own freedom. In such cases when the slaves were promised future manumission, they entered a status in which they enjoyed enhanced rights, notably that they usually could not be sold to a third party. Concubinage, as we will see, was a common situation for

female slaves, for whom pregnancy and childbearing often followed. While this could arouse the anger of the owner's wife and his legitimate children, in many cases the slave mother found her status improved. This was the case in both Christian and Muslim society, but among the Muslims it rested upon strong legal norms and societal customs. A slave who bore her Muslim master a child, always assuming he acknowledged responsibility, entered a new status. She could no longer be sold and would be freed on the master's death, and her child would be free from the time of birth. We will see many examples of the gradations between full freedom and full slavery in the chapters that follow.

By necessity, the periods and places where the greatest number of sources exist and where scholars have investigated them most fully receive prominence in this book. Consequently, the emphasis falls on the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The histories of slavery in Roman Hispania and in the Visigothic kingdom are less completely developed, having left fewer traces in the historical records and having attracted fewer modern scholars. The same is true for al-Andalus (Muslim Iberia), where slavery was a common component of society that at the time did not produce controversy, extensive commentary, or archives of business transactions. Consequently, there are fewer documents to be investigated, and, it should be noted, until recently there have been fewer investigators competent in the Arabic language. The documentary base is wider and deeper for the Christian kingdoms of the Middle Ages and the early modern centuries. Records of the sales and manumissions of slaves are readily available in local archives. Wars and skirmishes on land and at sea produced captives—Christians in Muslim hands and Muslims in Christian hands—who could be ransomed if fortune favored them and otherwise could be enslaved. The accounts of ransoms and prisoner exchanges are abundant.

The sources and the studies of slavery in Spain allow an excellent view to be developed of the trade in slaves, their lives, their work, and their chances to become free. What they do not allow is a comprehensive accounting of prices and numbers of slaves throughout the periods and places we examine. It would be wonderful if they did, but the information about prices and numbers of slaves is quite sketchy for the Middle Ages and not a great deal better for the early modern centuries. This may come as shock and a disappointment to those familiar with the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history of slavery, for which statistical records are abundant. The prices listed in the documents are of course in the local money of account, and rendering those prices in modern terms would be a meaningless project. Premodern officials did not

take censuses or compile statistics on population. Many scholars estimate the figures for the numbers of slaves they study, and most recognize the limitations of their estimates. Their percentages often rely on their own estimates of the numbers of sales or baptisms or manumissions compared to estimates of the total population prepared by other scholars.

One example of the difficulties involved in setting figures for populations of slaves is that of the island and city of Mallorca in the late Middle Ages. For the early fourteenth century, Charles Verlinden suggested 36 percent of the total population.²⁵ The same author suggested a figure of 20 percent for the early fifteenth century.²⁶ Subsequent estimates by a variety of scholars have reduced the assumed percentages considerably. For the early fourteenth century, Hillgarth accepted at least 10 percent,²⁷ whereas Planas Rossello, following Santamaría, accepted 20 percent.²⁸ Ricardo Soto Campany estimated only 13 percent of the island's population to be composed of slaves.²⁹ Most recently, Antoni Mas i Forners explained the difficulties in reconciling the various estimates for the fourteenth century population of slaves and restated the variations of 10, 20, and 36 percent. He pointed out that any one of those estimates would have reflected "very elevated percentages within the overall population,"³⁰ Mallorca may have had about 5,000 slaves by the mid-fifteenth century, about 10 percent of the total population.³¹ These varying estimates are testimony to the continuing interest in the history of slaves and slavery in late medieval Mallorca, as scholars have brought differing assumptions and statistical techniques to the same problem. Studies of slavery in other Iberian regions and municipalities may seem more precise, because for most of them we have only single, not multiple, estimations. All this is a sober reminder that precision is never easy and often impossible, given the incomplete documentation that remains from the past for the present.

The study of slavery in Iberia does not exist in isolation, and scholars working on the history of slavery are increasingly aware of studies elsewhere, especially of slavery in the Americas, that form useful comparative contexts. In the Americas, slavery was more recent, having ended only in the nineteenth century, and it produced more records that have survived, especially the words of the slaves and former slaves themselves. We will see the personal stories of individual slaves in the pages that follow, but readers must be aware that it is not always possible to find the complete life stories of pre-modern slaves in Iberia, due to the incomplete documentary record. Much recent work has concentrated on slavery in individual towns and cities and relied on the rich resources of the records of notaries, in which sales, manumissions, and wills

are the main records that relate to slaves. As valuable as the notarial documents are, they usually illuminate a single moment in the life of a slave, such as the day of the sale or the time of the manumission. These documents typically show prices, physical descriptions of the people being sold, and at times something of the past lives of the slaves and the skills they possessed. The notarial documents have limitations. Their foremost drawback is that they were almost always created at the behest of the owners, who had the notaries document the sales of slaves or their manumission. They were not done at the initiative of the slaves or ex-slaves, except in a few exceptional cases. The voices of the slaves, consequently, do not provide the dominant notes in the documents, but at times and with close analysis, something from the slaves' points of view can be interpreted from them, and the clear and authentic voices of the slaves themselves emerge.³²

The lives of the enslaved people of pre-modern Iberia provide the points of focus for this book. It begins with a chapter containing an overview of the history of slaves and slavery in the peninsula. Thereafter, the chapters are topical, not chronological, and follow what might be the trajectory of the life of an individual who became a slave, lived and worked as a slave, and eventually became a free person. Chapter 2 shows the many ways a person could become a slave. Some people were born as slaves. Others were born free and became slaves later. Wars, raids, and kidnapping all produced slaves, as did other means, including judicial sentences, sale of children by impoverished parents, and even voluntary slavery. Slaves could be sold, and many were moved long distances before their sales, as Chapter 3 explores. It also reveals that the transport, sale, and purchase of slaves all had complex variations. Chapter 4 shows how people lived as slaves, especially how they interacted with their owners and other living in the same households. Often they had to learn a new language, accept a new religion, and otherwise become culturally fluent in a new social environment. Women and some men slaves had to endure involuntary sexual activities—rape, to put it bluntly—that in the case of the women could and often did lead to pregnancy and childbearing. Slaves were not powerless and made the best of their limited opportunities, even with the severe restrictions that they faced. They relied on themselves and friends and family, while religion and the religious institutions they joined provided possibilities of solace and some material support. They did not lack agency in their own affairs. Chapter 5 shows the ways that slaves were put to work in the wide range of activities of the pre-modern centuries, from service in elite households, to action as business agents, to hard labor in fields or artisan workshops. Some

slaves became free, as Chapter 6 indicates. They could flee and attempt to reach freedom across religious and political frontiers. Many more became free by manumission, though it was not won easily. The granting of manumission almost always depended on the master, who could choose to free his slaves for any number of reasons, either during his lifetime or after his death by the terms of his will and testament. Usually slaves had to pay for their freedom, either literally by giving money to their owners or figuratively by providing them or their heirs with specified lengths and terms of service.

The story of slavery is the story of the slaves, who could live any of a variety of lives depending on the circumstances in which they found themselves. Conquerors enslaved defeated enemies in many places, slave dealers secured slaves in numerous locales to bring slaves to Iberia and sell them there. Thus the slaves came from multiple ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups. Did their medieval and early modern owners draw distinctions among them along ethnic or racial lines? Scholars have only recently begun to address questions of the differentiation and discrimination regarding ethnicity, and how this might relate to something akin to modern racism. Answers to those questions are still not clear and likely will be at the forefront of near-future investigations and interpretations. Other new directions in the study of slavery will continue and expand the recent interest in the lives of women as slaves and the even more recent concern for the lives of children as slaves.³³

The history of slavery in Spain is complex and lacks a clear narrative line. It contains fascinating and heartrending episodes as slaves suffered, endured, and occasionally triumphed. Slavery in the Iberian Peninsula declined and died out late in the early modern period, as the first chapter shows. In that same period, slavery in the European colonial areas grew, continued in the Spanish empire and in Brazil into the late nineteenth century, and involved vastly greater numbers of slaves than anywhere in Europe. The final chapter, an epilogue, will touch upon this. The historical literature of Latin American slavery is vast and beyond the scope of this book, whose main story is what happened in Iberia.

CHAPTER I

The History of Slavery in Iberia

Slavery was a structural feature of Mediterranean society.

—Fernand Braudel, mid-twentieth century

Slavery was present in the Iberian Peninsula from the beginning of recorded history. It was prominent in Roman times and in the early Middle Ages under the Visigoths. The Muslims maintained a slave system in Iberia as long as they held territory there. The medieval Christian kingdoms of the peninsula all had slaves and laws governing them, and slavery continued in early modern Spain and Portugal before declining and dying out in the eighteenth century.¹

The numbers of slaves and the percentage of slaves in the population during those centuries remained relatively small. At no time was a slave society present. The scholarly standard is Moses I. Finley's division between slave societies, on the one hand, and societies with slaves, on the other. In Finley's definition, a slave society had to have something on the order of 30 percent of the population as slaves, and slave labor had to account for a major proportion of that society's production. Only five places and times figured in Finley's scheme as slave societies: classical Greece and Rome, colonial Brazil, colonial Caribbean, and antebellum United States.² All others with lower percentages were societies with slaves, and the Iberian societies fit here. Even in Roman Hispania, the percentage of slaves did not reach 30. Throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern centuries, slaves were unevenly distributed over the geography of the peninsula and made up a small percentage of the overall population. Many parts of the peninsula had no slaves at all. Large commercial cities—Lisbon and Seville, Valencia and Barcelona—may have had over 10 percent slaves between the late fifteenth

and early seventeenth centuries, and some smaller Atlantic coastal towns may have had around 20 percent. In that period, though, slaves probably made up less than 1 percent of the population in Spain and perhaps less than 7 percent in Portugal. Nowhere and at no time was the economy dependent on slave labor. There were slaves, nonetheless, on Iberian soil throughout the period we are examining, and the premodern societies there were societies with slaves. Even though the numbers of slaves were small in comparison with classical Athens or Rome or colonial Brazil, their lives shared characteristics with those of slaves elsewhere.

The history of slavery in Iberia, though complex and long lasting, was not unique in Europe and the Mediterranean. At one time or another, all Western European countries experienced the presence of slavery and the slave trade. Scandinavians practiced slavery at home and traded slaves abroad in the early Middle Ages. Ireland had slaves and slave traders, as did England up to the eleventh century. The Low Countries, France, and the German-speaking areas knew slavery as a long legacy of the Roman domination and as a continuing though diminishing feature of life in the central Middle Ages. The Italian states had a long experience with slavery that lasted from classical times through the early modern centuries and drew slaves from as far afield as the Russian rivers, the Black Sea coasts, and North and sub-Saharan Africa. The Byzantine Empire had slaves throughout its existence. The world of Islam, which for seven centuries counted parts of Iberia within it, had a well-developed system of slavery and an expansive slave trade from many areas of Europe, West Asia, and Africa. Iberia's slave holders to one degree or another or at one time or another interacted with these areas as they acquired slaves and put them to use. The stories of lives of those slaves in Iberia are compelling and form the core of this book.³ Here are a few of those stories to introduce the complexity of the topic.

Stories of Slaves

In 1301 the slave Francesca received conditional freedom in Christian Valencia. She was a Christian, almost certainly a former Muslim, and owned by Bernat Planell, a citizen and moneychanger of Valencia, and his wife Gillemona. Francesca received her freedom in a private notarial act that declared her free, released, and placed in liberty. Despite the rotund terms of the statement, Francesca agreed to abide by a separate provision that she would serve her

former owners for a term of three years, during which Planell and his wife would provide her with food and drink, clothing, and shoes.⁴

In the early fourteenth century, Muslim forces captured a Christian boy in the town of Calzada de Calatrava in La Mancha. He was taken to Granada, converted to Islam, and trained as a soldier. Eventually, under the name Riḍwān, he became the grand vizier of the kingdom of Granada.⁵ He is a late example of a long list of former slaves who reached high positions in Muslim Spain.

Catalina Muñoz prepared a will in Almería in 1570. In it she left a graphic account of her life and that of her children by several fathers.

I declare that I have a natural daughter, Isabel Muñoz, wife of Lázaro de Palenzuela, and her father is named Jorge de Brujas, and at the time that he had her in me, I was the slave of Juan [Alonso] Valle de Cabrera. Also, I declare that I have another daughter named Ana de Rojas, daughter of a soldier of the company of the Count of Chinchón, and at present she is the slave of doña Ana Pantoja, wife of Cristóbal de Robles, and she is also a natural daughter. Also, I declare that I have a son named Bernavé Castillo, slave of the said Juan Alonso [Valle] de Cabrera. He was the son of Juan del Castillo, and he is a natural child as the others. Also, I say and declare that after having the said three children, I married Alonso González, according to the rites of the Holy Mother Church, [and] to marry me he ransomed me and made them give me my liberty, because at that time I was the slave of the said Juan [Alonso] Valle de Cabrera, as is already stated, and from that matrimony we had and raised as our legitimate son Alonso González.⁶

In August 1571, thirteen young Moroccan Muslims, joined by a Morisco (a Christian convert from Islam) of Granada, embarked on a trip of pirate raiding in a small sailing ship. Reaching the coast of Málaga, they captured three Christians and took them to the ship, where four of the Muslims guarded them. The others continued along the shore seeking still more Christians to capture. At that point, two Christian ships from Málaga answered the alarm and sailed out to intercept the raiders' vessel, whose crew raised sail and fled, leaving ten of their companions ashore. They hid out in the hills behind Málaga for three days before they were captured, taken to the jails of the Alhambra

in Granada, and sold at public auction in early September. A silk merchant purchased one of the ten, Hamet Manli, who before long decided to flee into the mountains south of Granada. He walked for six days, finding grapes to eat in the first three days and nothing thereafter. Coast guards apprehended Hamet near Almería and jailed him in the town of Vera. His captors questioned him closely and then sent a message to his owner in Granada. The document ends at that point. Our glimpse of the life of Hamet is of less than three months' duration, as he became a slave catcher, a captive, a slave, a fugitive, and a captive again.⁷

Miguel de Cervantes endured five years of captivity in Algiers after having been captured by Muslims at sea in 1575. Passages based on his experiences there before he was ransomed appear in many of his literary works, including *Don Quijote*. We will see more about his time in Algiers in Chapter 2.⁸

The records of the Inquisition contain the account of the life of a convert from Islam to Christianity, one José de Santa Ana. Apprehended and brought before the tribunal in Murcia in 1734, he had to counter the accusations of witnesses who saw him frequenting taverns in the company of two students. His accusers reported that he made disparaging remarks about the Christian religion in Spanish and supposedly said, "Hooray for Muḥammad!" in Arabic. He claimed to have been captured off Portugal and imprisoned for fourteen years and that he was trying to get back to North Africa at the time he was apprehended. He changed his story once in custody, blaming his reported behavior on heavy drinking urged on by the students. He then asserted that he was a native of Algiers and that he had gone to Lisbon in the company of some Christian clerics returning from a mission to redeem captives. Baptized and confirmed in Lisbon, he worked for years as a cook in a noble household. He left that employment after a disagreement and then wandered through Portugal and Spain, eventually reaching Murcia. In his interrogation, he swore that he was a good Christian and had no intention of returning to the Islamic world, where he believed that he would not be accepted because he had converted to Christianity. The inquisitors found him to have an acceptable, though incomplete, knowledge of Christianity. Due to his contrition and the extenuation of his drunkenness, they decided not to punish him.⁹

Mid-eighteenth-century documents reveal the life trajectory of Catalina de Gálvez, a woman of African descent, born on the island of Jamaica and taken to Cádiz at so young an age she could not remember the trip. There Francisco Malberán baptized, raised, and educated her. Later he manumitted her in his will, and she became a free citizen of Cádiz.¹⁰

These examples offer glimpses of the complexities in the long history of captivity and slavery in Iberia, a history echoed elsewhere in the world. Slavery was cross-cultural and multi-ethnic. Some slaves were born into their condition; others were captured and enslaved in the aftermath of conquest, war, raids, and kidnapping. Warriors recognized that defeat might be a prelude to enslavement. Christians, Jews, and Muslims could be slave dealers, slave owners, or the enslaved, depending on circumstance. Owners employed their slaves in a variety of ways as domestics, sexual partners, artisans, and farmers. They could sell their slaves, grant them as gifts, rent them as hired laborers, or pledge them as collateral for debts. Slaves endured their condition and occasionally sought and secured their freedom, sometimes by flight but most often by purchasing their manumission. For millennia, the presence of slavery was part of the ordinary experience of life even for those free people who owned no slaves. The freeborn feared it, for they knew that they faced the possibility of capture and enslavement.

Varieties of Slavery in Iberia

The societies of Iberia shared in the wider experience of slavery in the Mediterranean world and beyond. Slavery changed over time, despite elements of continuity. Slavery is a complex institution that had different manifestations from ancient to modern times and assumed a greater or lesser importance in the Islamic and Christian societies and economies of the Iberian Peninsula. The numbers of slaves, their percentage in the overall population, the way the slaves entered the host society, the work they did, the lives they led, their chances for manumission and assimilation all varied by place, period, and circumstance.

We can see slavery in medieval Iberia as a persistent feature that ultimately helped to lead to the great expansion of slavery in the Americas after 1500, but that is only a minor part of the overall story. The men, women, and children who lived as slaves over the course of the centuries were the most affected, but the presence of slavery had an impact as well on the free people who owned slaves and others who came in contact with them. Life in a society with slaves influenced attitudes about social differences and the relations among religions, because most slaves were initially of a different religion from that of their masters. They also usually spoke different languages and came from different ethnic backgrounds, thereby complicating relations between the host society and the slaves.

For Iberia, as for the rest of the Mediterranean world, slavery was present as far back as there are records. The early communities in the Iberian Peninsula practiced slavery, and the Carthaginians began a more intensive use of slave labor. Nevertheless, the Roman period was crucial for the later history of slavery.¹¹ Rome's domination of the peninsula began with a long period of conquest, beginning in the late third and lasting to the late first century B.C.E., from the time Roman armies first landed at the old Greek colony-city of Emporion (modern Ampurias or Empúries) on the Mediterranean coast to the final pacification of the north of the peninsula by Augustus. While fighting the forces of Carthage in eastern Spain, the Roman leader Scipio Africanus often allowed the native Hispani their freedom and enslaved only the Carthaginians. During the Roman conquest of the rest of Iberia, the Romans peacefully absorbed the peoples and places whose rulers agreed to join the conquerors but killed or enslaved those who resisted. It is impossible to be precise about the numbers of prisoners produced during the Roman conquest of Spain or to determine how many of the prisoners became slaves. Even though the Roman authors loved to list and likely to exaggerate the numbers of captives, at times some of them said only that "many" fell into Roman hands. All told, perhaps as many as 200,000 captives became slaves. Of these, some remained in the peninsula while others were exported. The scenes of battle, the concentrations of the defeated, and their subsequent distribution and sale to slave dealers echoed similar events elsewhere throughout the Mediterranean.¹²

The Romans colonized and Romanized the peninsula even as the wars of conquest dragged on, and Hispania, as they called it, eventually became fully a part of the Roman world.¹³ The numbers of slaves and their use in the economy were probably at their height at the time of the late Republic in the first century B.C.E., a consequence of the captives the wars of conquest created. Did Roman Spain become a slave society? One strand among recent studies of Roman slavery holds that only Italy and Sicily became true slave societies. Another view is that the label should also apply to certain other Roman provinces, including Spain.¹⁴ Certainly, Roman Spain had many slaves, though almost assuredly not so many as to represent 30 percent of the population.

Slaves in Roman Spain endured conditions similar to those elsewhere in the Roman world and worked as household servants, in commerce, and in artisan manufacturing. The Romans used slaves in gangs on large agricultural enterprises, in the mines, and on public works projects. Gang slavery was a characteristic of Roman slavery that did not last into the Middle Ages. Roman slaves existed in circumscribed legal conditions, but many received their

freedom and lived out their lives as freedmen. If the freed slaves had children, those children and their descendants were free.

The numbers of slaves and the importance of slavery declined during the third and fourth centuries, as the Roman Empire itself staggered. The demographic, social, and economic changes that collectively made up the decline of the western Roman Empire were accompanied by alterations in the patterns of slave use. As the cities lost population and significance in the economy, the centers of economic and social gravity shifted from the towns to the country villas. The hollow cities no longer provided major markets for rural produce, while the villas tended to become more self-sufficient. Large slave gangs were no longer needed, and urban slaves became fewer in number. Many of the rural slaves eventually blended with free peasants into a group of semi-dependent workers. Roman Hispania was not a slave society by the end of the imperial period, if it ever had been one, but was a society with slaves. With the decline of the western empire, the conditions were set for the Germanic incursions and the establishment of the Visigothic kingdom in Iberia.

Slavery continued to be important in the Visigothic period from the fifth to the early eighth century. The Visigoths had known slavery before they entered Roman territory. Once inside the Roman borders, they generally retained the Roman laws governing slavery and instituted only subtle changes in its practice. The sources of slaves, their conditions, and their possibility of manumission remained much the same as in Roman times, despite a few innovations. For example, the normal pattern was to refrain from enslaving those considered part of the dominant group, and one common definition of inclusion and exclusion was religion. The Visigoths, until the late sixth century, were Arian Christians who felt no compunction about enslaving Catholic Christians. Another innovation was that the Visigoths at times made use of slaves as combat troops, unlike the Romans, who usually confined their slaves to support roles in military activity. The ruralization of the Roman West proceeded as the Visigothic kingdom developed along social and economic lines similar to those of other Germanic successor kingdoms. We have no way of knowing how Visigothic slavery would have developed, because Visigothic rule in Spain abruptly ended when the Muslims conquered the kingdom early in the eighth century.¹⁵

The Muslims expanded from their origins in Arabia to take control of a swath of territories eastward to India and westward to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean in little more than a century. Slavery and the slave trade were both present in the Arabian Peninsula before the rise of Islam, and the Muslims

conquered lands where slavery was present. Past practices of the Arabs and those of the societies they conquered thus intertwined to bind slavery into the fabric of Muslim society.¹⁶ The Muslims crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in the early eighth century after their absorption of North Africa, defeated the last Visigothic rulers, and secured most of the Iberian Peninsula. Al-Andalus, as they called it, became part of the wider world of Islam, unified by religion, the Arabic language, and common patterns of law and custom.

The Muslim invaders operated in a fashion similar to that of the Romans in their expansive phases: they sought to have the cities to ally with them. Where this happened, the Christian and Jewish population could preserve their religions and laws.¹⁷ Cities whose leaders resisted were conquered, and the Muslims enslaved the women and children of the defeated populations and killed or enslaved the men. The chroniclers probably exaggerated the numbers of captives, but just after the Muslim conquest, the caliph in Baghdad reportedly received 30,000 Christian prisoners sent from Spain.¹⁸ As the caliph was entitled to one-fifth of all booty, local officials must have reported the total number of captives at 150,000.

The contest between Christendom and the world of Islam, beginning with the Muslim conquests of the first two centuries of Islam, obviously influenced the history of slavery in medieval and early modern Europe. The conflict lasted in greater or lesser degree throughout the Middle Ages and continued in the early modern centuries. The alterations within the strategic relationship between Christian and Muslim states had important consequences for the development of slavery and the slave trade and helped to account for their complexity.

The Muslims failed to secure portions of Iberia's mountainous north. Islamic and Christian societies consequently faced one another across a shifting land frontier in Iberia for nearly eight hundred years. Slavery in al-Andalus shows all the features of traditional slavery in the Muslim world. The frequent cross-border skirmishes, interspersed between periods of major campaigns, meant that captives were numerous and that slavery lasted longer as a more fully developed system than in many other parts of medieval Europe. The long-distance trading connections throughout and beyond the world of Islam brought slaves—Christians, Jews, and pagans—from a variety of origins to al-Andalus to add to the descendants of Iberian captives of the eighth century. By the tenth century, Slavs became the most numerous imported group. In fact, so common were Slavs in the slave trade, that their name has become the origin of the word "slave" in Western languages and in Arabic. Called

ṣaqālība in Arabic, Slavs were purchased from slave traders. Byzantine Christians, captured by other Muslims in the eastern Mediterranean, were present as slaves of the Spanish Muslims by the eleventh century, along with North African Berbers enslaved following unsuccessful revolts. Sub-Saharan Africans arrived beginning in the eleventh century, a consequence of the increased Islamic penetration into their homelands via the caravan trade across the Sahara desert. Muslim raids into Christian territory in Iberia were designed for quick seizures of booty and prisoners, and the captives were held until they were ransomed. The Muslims held their Christian captives under tight control.¹⁹ Because many tried to flee back across the frontier, they had to be guarded closely to prevent flight. Those captives taken to North Africa were even less likely to be ransomed, as they were farther from kin who could help them.²⁰ If not ransomed, captives were sold at auction. The majority ended up as farm workers, but others worked at urban tasks.

Certain aspects of slavery among the Muslims were unlike anything in the Roman or Visigothic period. The medieval Islamic world was not a slave society, despite the large numbers of slaves in it. Muslims generally made little use of gang slaves in agriculture or large-scale manufacturing, and many of the slaves in al-Andalus were artisans, domestics, or concubines.²¹ Others occupied administrative roles, sometimes filled by eunuch slaves, and military slaves were present. Slaves of the Muslims were usually well integrated into the dominant society and into family life and the domestic production of goods for household use or for sale. The Muslims in Spain and elsewhere in the Mediterranean also made great use of imported slave soldiers. Two features of the economy and society of Islamic Spain foreshadowed developments in the later history of slavery: sugar production and the use of slaves from sub-Saharan Africa.

Christian and Jewish slave holding continued in Muslim Spain. From the beginning, if Christians and Jews voluntarily accepted Muslim dominance, they could retain their lives, their liberty, and their property. Thereafter they paid a head tax to the conquerors, and one half the normal head tax for their slaves. Initially, the status of the Mozarabs (Christians living under Muslim rule) was sharply reduced, with restricted civil rights that prohibited them from holding offices that would give them authority over Muslims. They could not acquire Muslim slaves, but they could retain their non-Muslim slaves. Any of their existing slaves who converted to Islam were to be sold to Muslim masters, because no non-Muslim could legally hold a Muslim as a slave. By the ninth and tenth centuries, though, Mozarabs could purchase non-Muslim slaves who reached the peninsula through the slave trade.²²

Far northern Iberia remained in Christian hands after the Muslim conquest of most of the peninsula, as remnants of the Visigothic elite took refuge with local Christians and began guerrilla actions against the Muslims. Slavery of various forms also persisted in the Christian areas. In the period of the early reconquest, from the eighth through the eleventh centuries, Christian slave owners gradually ceased to hold Christian slaves, and the descendants of those slaves tended to become hereditary tenants on assigned plots. The bulk of the rural workers in all areas of the Christian states tended to be free or semi-free, though they were tied in varying degrees of dependence to lay lords or ecclesiastical establishments.²³

Slavery in later medieval Iberia was unlike Roman slavery and resembled instead the systems developing in other parts of the Christian Mediterranean. Seldom were there large concentrations of slaves, and in none of the Christian kingdoms was there anything approaching a slave society. Slaves mainly worked as additional workers among a pool of free workers or as those assigned to temporary tasks. This distinguished medieval Iberian slavery from Roman, in which slave gangs were prominent. What distinguished it from slavery among the Muslims of the same period was the restricted number of categories into which slaves fit. There were no military slaves, eunuchs were virtually nonexistent, and slaves only infrequently acted as business agents. Female slaves were usually domestics and often concubines, but they seldom occupied the same positions as the slave entertainers that figured so prominently in Islamic Spain. Even though slavery in medieval Christian Iberia did have an uninterrupted history, the institution functioned only in a restricted fashion. Nevertheless, the Iberian kingdoms were frontier states, sharing borders with Muslim states whose inhabitants, the Christians believed, could be raided and enslaved with complete legality.

Slavery in the Christian areas of eastern Iberia evolved considerably over the period from the eleventh to the end of thirteenth century. The means of acquisition changed, and the slaves on the market were less frequently war captives and more frequently the property of slave dealers. The slaves tended to come from a wider area of recruitment, and women came to constitute the majority of those sold in the markets. All this reflected changes in the balance of power between Muslim and Christian states in the peninsula and in the Mediterranean, as Catalan maritime activity and Castilian land campaigns increased from the late eleventh century onward. Christian city-states and kingdoms profited from their successes as they seized the initiative from the Muslims and began to secure slaves from a wider area. Urban areas expanded,

particularly in Catalonia, and the purchasers of slaves tended to be city dwellers, who preferred women as their household slaves. The attitudes of the slave owners altered as well. Earlier they had employed Muslim captives as slaves and tended to avoid close attachments with their slaves. Thereafter, they increasingly considered their slaves, by then predominantly women, as part of the household. They usually referred to them by name in legal documents, took care to supervise their conversion to Christianity, and manumitted them more frequently.²⁴ Slaves still worked at productive tasks, both in the homes and workshops and on the farms and garden plots of their owners. Women slaves often became concubines of their masters.

By the late Middle Ages, the maritime regions of the Crown of Aragon shared in the system of slavery that was characteristic of the Christian countries of the western Mediterranean.²⁵ From the Adriatic Sea westward, the polities of Italy and Sicily, southern France, and eastern Iberia all shared a common pattern of slavery and slave holding, featuring urban and domestic slaves more than rural slaves, and with women typically but not always outnumbering men as slaves. Slaves were most commonly recruited by a well-organized commerce conducted mainly by Italians who sought non-Christian slaves, or at least non-Catholic slaves, around the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean and beyond through the straits to the northern shores of the Black Sea. Periodic Christian victories over the Muslims placed large numbers of captives on the market in the western Mediterranean. When Christians conquered the islands of Mallorca (1229–30) and Minorca (1287), the chronicler Muntaner stated that 40,000 Muslim captives were sold as slaves throughout the Christian Mediterranean.²⁶

The special circumstances of medieval Iberia included communities of religious minorities living within the lands of the dominant religions, with Jewish and Christian communities in Muslim Spain and Jewish and Muslim communities in Christian Spain. Complications for slavery naturally arose, for Muslim rulers prohibited Christians and Jews from owning Muslim slaves, just as Christian rulers forbade Jews and Muslims to own Christian slaves. The best studied of these special cases was the Mudejar community in the medieval Crown of Aragon. Mudejars were Muslims living under Christian rule. Many of them continued to own slaves, so long as the slaves were not Christian, and derived significant benefits from slave ownership beyond the normal labor and services any slave owners received. From the eleventh century on, slaves of the Mudejars often engaged in everyday interactions with the Christian community, and thus provided channels for acculturation in language and everyday

behavior. At the same time, Muslim slaves imported into the Mudejar communities from Muslim lands brought their experience of living in a dominant Muslim polity and consequently provided support for the Islamic culture of the Mudejars, who faced pressures to assimilate into the dominant Christian society.²⁷

Raiders from both sides of the religious divide preyed on the coastal populations by capturing victims at sea or along the unprotected coasts. Those captives who had the means or who could secure the help of their families back home could arrange ransoms and exchanges. Others less fortunate ended up as slaves.²⁸

Late medieval Castile was not greatly involved in Mediterranean activity and purchased few slaves from Mediterranean merchants. Slaves in Castile up to the late fourteenth century were almost exclusively Muslim in origin, and Castilian slavery was fed by the reconquest and by raids into Muslim-controlled territory. King Alfonso X's thirteenth-century law code, the *Siete Partidas*, inspired by the high medieval revival of Roman law, incorporated many Roman elements and went on to influence later Castilian legal codes, as well as the legislation affecting Spain's American colonies.²⁹ For Portugal, the presence of Muslim slaves is documented from the eleventh century, but a lack of both original sources and modern studies limits what is known about them. More numerous studies of slavery in Portugal focus on the period from the 1440s onward, when the direct trade in sub-Saharan slaves began.³⁰

Two turning points altered the geography of the slave trade to Christian Iberia and brought slaves of different ethnic origins to the markets of the peninsula. One was the Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century. A great pandemic reached the Mediterranean world from Asia, which in a period of less than four years killed a third or more of Europe's population and had a similar impact on the Middle East.³¹ It was the greatest human catastrophe ever to hit the region, with the death toll in percentage terms far surpassing even the losses in the First and Second World Wars. The survivors faced many adjustments, not all of them bad. For the elite, there was a concentration of wealth, either through inheritance or their ability to sell what their fields and workshops produced at higher prices. Among the non-elite, surviving rural and urban workers could secure better terms of work and higher pay for their labor. Elite households needed servants and had the money to pay for them, while the workers in the smaller labor force could opt out of domestic service and secure jobs with higher status. Slaves could fill the gap and began to be secured and traded in a wider geographical area, from Dalmatia through

southeastern Europe to the shores and islands of the Black Sea to the lands of the Russian rivers. This was the case for many of the northern Italian cities and for Barcelona, Valencia, and other smaller ports of the Crown of Aragon.

The second major change took place in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese and Spanish probing expeditions down the Atlantic coast of Africa began to bring sub-Saharan Africans as slaves into Europe. Europeans initially had become aware of the riches of sub-Saharan Africa because of their interest in Morocco and the African goods from farther south—gold and slaves above all—available there. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese had established a commercial trajectory that brought slaves from coastal enclaves in Atlantic Africa to Portugal. This marked a fundamental change, for now sub-Saharan Africans arrived in Christian Europe directly instead of indirectly via the trans-Saharan caravan routes of the Muslims and the trade across the Mediterranean. Of these slaves, some remained in Portugal, whereas dealers took others to be sold elsewhere in Europe. Many slaves went to Seville, where some remained, while others traveled farther to the ports of the Crown of Aragon and to the more northerly cities of Castile. Still others passed directly from Lisbon to the eastern Iberian ports.³² Thus the Portuguese developed a trade in black African slaves that began small and served the limited needs of the peninsula and the Iberian-controlled Atlantic islands. The trade later grew exponentially with the development of the colonial empires in the Americas.

As they colonized the Americas beginning in the 1490s, the Spaniards established slavery in the new possessions. In doing so, they made use of several long- and short-term traditions present in the peninsula by 1492. One was the persistence of the legal regulations governing slavery, present from Roman times and ratified in the *Siete Partidas*. Another tradition was the existence of sugar-cane plantations and sugar refining, both in the peninsula and in the Canaries. In the Canaries, at least, the connection between sugar and slavery had been established, just as had the custom of purchasing black African slaves from the Portuguese. The Portuguese overseas ventures followed a similar trajectory as they colonized Madeira and other Atlantic islands and then Brazil across the Atlantic. Growing from these precedents, slavery became an important social and economic institution in the Iberian American empires, and it lasted into the late nineteenth century.

Slavery played a crucial role in colonial economic development, and eventually portions of the Americas became true slave societies. Slavery in Spanish America was complex, and during the first two centuries of the colonial period,

two systems of slavery coexisted. One was an outgrowth of the traditional pattern of slavery in the Christian Mediterranean during the Middle Ages. In it, owners employed slaves as domestics, artisans, and assistants of all kinds. In the first decades of the Spanish settlement of the Americas, this was the predominant system, with slaves and freedmen, often of African origin, acting in an intermediate role between the Spaniards and the Amerindians. The other system was large-scale slavery for the sugar plantations and the mines in Spanish America and Portuguese Brazil, a variety of slavery reminiscent of the Rome gang slavery in the late Republic and early Empire and one virtually non-existent in Europe and North Africa during the Middle Ages. With the passage of time, the highly concentrated gang slavery became the more important of the two in many parts of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial areas.³³

Back in Iberia, there was a slight rise in the numbers of slaves in Iberia and in the social importance of slavery from the middle of the fifteenth century to the late sixteenth. Despite the growing number of sub-Saharan Africans, slaves of other origins still were important in Spain, including captives from the wars of conquest in the Canary Islands, who began to arrive in greater numbers in the period from 1480 to 1530. Still other slaves were Muslims, captured in the peninsula or at sea in the Mediterranean. There also were Moriscos from the peninsula itself. The numbers of Muslims and Moriscos were significant in the period 1570 to 1630 and reached a peak in the decade of the 1620s, following the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.³⁴ Spain and Portugal were prospering, and many Iberians were growing rich from the flows of African and Asian products and eventually of American silver. With increasing prosperity, rural and urban workers began to move from place to place in search of better jobs and improved working conditions. Some employers turned then to slaves, who were by definition fixed to the place the owner assigned them. Keeping slaves in one place was one thing; saving on taxes was another. In the sixteenth century an old Castilian tax, the *moneda foránea*, came to be converted to a luxury impost paid by those who had free servants. It did not apply to slave owners, many of whom used their slaves in the same way that others used free servants.³⁵

Slave owners came from a wide spectrum of society in the early modern period. The royal governments in Spain and Portugal owned slaves who worked in public enterprises. Officials of state and church of all ranks owned slaves. Nobles owned many slaves, not just for display but also for construction and maintenance of castles and townhouses, for agriculture and animal husbandry, and for domestic service. Down the social ladder, local officials,

merchants, artisans, and farmers could own slaves as assistants, farm hands, and domestics.

Even in the absence of firm figures for all of early modern Spain, it is apparent that the densities of the servile population varied in different regions. In general terms, Andalusia and Murcia had the greatest numbers, followed by Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia, and then by the seat of the royal court, especially after its establishment in Madrid in the mid-sixteenth century. Although most slaves lived in the southern and eastern coastal cities or in the Balearic Islands, there was a wide but uneven distribution of slaves elsewhere in the peninsula. Recent scholarship has documented the presence of slaves even in the Basque provinces, where slavery had been thought nonexistent because of legal prohibitions.³⁶ For Portugal in the same period, the distribution of slaves varied, with more slaves in coastal regions than in the interior and more in cities than in the countryside. A recent set of estimates suggests that few places in sixteenth-century Portugal had more than 10 percent slaves in the population, that the country as a whole in that century had between 6 and 7 percent slaves, and that in the next century the percentage had dropped to below 5 percent. Lisbon likely had just under 10 percent at the sixteenth-century height of slavery there.³⁷

The numbers were never great. During the sixteenth century, Seville's slaves probably made up about 10 percent of the population, and Seville had the largest slave population of any major city.³⁸ The peak may have come in mid-century.³⁹ Barcelona's slave population in the late fifteenth century has been estimated at some 10 to 20 percent,⁴⁰ with that of Valencia not far behind. Granada at the same period had only about 2 percent of its population as slaves.⁴¹ Slaves represented some 10 to 12 percent of the population of the island of Gran Canaria in the sixteenth century, and freed slaves represented some 3.4 percent.⁴² In the second half of the sixteenth century, Toledo, a city of between 20,000 and 25,000 people, had a slave population of less than 400.⁴³ Palos, a small town on the Atlantic coast near the Portuguese border, had a population of some 25 percent slaves and free people of African origin, but that was due to unusual local circumstances.⁴⁴

The defeat of the rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada in the 1560s, as we will see in Chapter 2, meant that many of the defeated ended up as slaves. Others escaped to North Africa, and some of them joined the Muslim corsairs and preyed on the Spanish coasts. Of the Morisco slaves remaining in Granada, many gained their freedom, as their relatives ransomed them. Others died as slaves. Morisco children, separated from their families, were often hidden by

their Christian owners and others were placed under the control of Christians. They had free status in a legal sense, but many of them were treated in practice as if they were slaves.⁴⁵ In 1571 came the battle of Lepanto, in which Spanish-led naval forces defeated the Ottoman fleet and brought many captives to the market. King Felipe II of Spain in 1580 assumed the crown of Portugal, at that point the chief European dealer in African slaves. All these events formed the foundation for a growth in peninsular slavery that lasted into the seventeenth century.⁴⁶

Slavery began to lose its importance after a peak in the seventeenth century. Individual captives and slaves won their freedom: captives by ransom and slaves by flight or by legal manumissions. There were still slaves of Muslim origin in Spain, for slaves had been excluded from the expulsion decree. Most, however, were Muslims captured at sea or in North Africa or purchased there. A few were of Morisco origin.⁴⁷ After royal orders of 1626 and 1629, Moorish slaves had to be converted to Christianity or sold outside the kingdom,⁴⁸ but it does not appear that these orders were strictly followed, for a few unconverted Muslim slaves remained until the late eighteenth century. By no means did all of the converted slaves truly embrace Christianity. Some of the last references to such slaves are in the records of the Inquisition, when they fell afoul of the authorities following accusations that they were insincere Christians.⁴⁹ The Portuguese asserted their independence from Spain in 1640 and fought a long war until 1668 to secure it. During that period, Portuguese slave dealers could not visit Spain to supply slaves. For all these reasons, slavery declined in Spain, outside a few special locations.⁵⁰

Slavery in Western Europe gradually declined during the course of the eighteenth century and finally ceased to exist in the nineteenth. It is clear that slavery relied on a set of factors that included the need for coerced labor, the availability of slaves, and a desire on the part of private individuals and governments to own slaves. By the late eighteenth century, none of these factors operated in Spain. There was a general rise in population in the eighteenth century and a shift in population to the coastal regions. Thus more free laborers were available, just at a time when supplies of slaves were becoming more limited and prices were rising. Thus it made economic sense to employ wage laborers instead of investing in slaves. Free workers could be employed and paid as needed; slaves had to be fed, clothed, and housed whether they worked or not.

Slavery gradually declined over the eighteenth century, for all these reasons. Slavery played little role in the European economy by that time, and without an economic justification it eventually disappeared. In the area of the

old county of Niebla, the territory along the Atlantic coast in the lower reaches of the Tinto and Odiel Rivers, slavery faded out in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁵¹ Jaén showed a similar pattern. It was still there in the early eighteenth century, but thereafter the sales are all to merchants and citizens of Málaga. After the early years of the eighteenth century, slavery ceased to exist there.⁵² The last slave to be baptized in the Extremaduran town of Montijo received the sacrament in 1735.⁵³ In Catalonia, the number of slaves fell over the course of the eighteenth century, in part due to the decline of Barcelona and the fact that the Catalan fleet was no longer employed in slaving raids, but mainly because labor costs dropped as a consequence of French immigration and the growth of the local population.⁵⁴ A similar pattern emerges from the records of Cádiz, where the estimated percentage of slaves in the population dropped to nearly nothing over the course of the eighteenth century, a decline due to general population growth and the immigration of free workers from other parts of Spain who took over the often menial jobs that slaves formerly held.⁵⁵ Two small towns in southern Extremadura show a similar trajectory for slavery over the early modern period. Barcarrota and Salvaleón, both close to the Portuguese border, showed declines in the percentages of slave children in local baptisms: for Barcarrota nearly 6 percent of those baptized in the sixteenth century were slaves, 2 percent in the seventeenth, and just over 1 percent in the eighteenth. For Salvaleón, the numbers were even smaller while the pattern was the same.⁵⁶

Until the eighteenth century, the ransoming of captives remained a preoccupation both of the Christians of Europe and of the Muslims of North Africa. The activity of corsairs produced captives at sea and along the coasts, and many of the captives were held for ransom. The collection of money for the redemption of slaves was a flourishing business and occupied the attention of the specialized religious orders. Without the constant “small war” with the Muslims in the Mediterranean, slavery might have died out even earlier. But the influx of Muslim captives, a few in ordinary years and in greater numbers during major campaigns, offered an opportunity for the government and private owners to employ slaves. The government made use of them in special projects. Privately owned slaves were no longer important in the economy by the eighteenth century. Those who remained were usually domestic servants and assistants in the artisan workshops.

The final decline of slavery in Spain began in the 1760s, when Carlos III established diplomatic relations with Morocco, an act that severely curtailed slaving raids by both sides.⁵⁷ With regularization of diplomatic ties with the

North African states, the activity of corsairs declined, and with it, the numbers of captives. The last domestic slaves, often of African ancestry though usually born in Spain or the Spanish American colonies, became free by manumission in the late eighteenth century or by law in the early nineteenth. Many entered the market for domestic servants; when they married, they followed the normal gender pattern, with the woman working at home and the man securing employment outside the home.⁵⁸ Slavery in metropolitan Portugal also ended in the late eighteenth century. In 1761 a decree forbade the entry of slaves into that country; those slaves who happened to arrive thereafter were declared to be free. That left the existing slaves, few in number. They attained freedom under the government of the Marquis of Pombal in 1773.⁵⁹

Throughout Iberia, slavery had died a natural death. An institution that had predated the Roman conquest of Spain, one that had lasted well over two thousand years, had passed into history. It was a harsh yet fascinating history while it lasted. This rapid summary reveals the highlights of the history of slavery in Iberia and also provides a preview of the various themes pursued in this book. People became slaves, and when they did, they lived and worked as slaves. As slaves, their lives were in the hands of their owners, who could dispose of them as property, treat them harshly or kindly, assign them to work, have forced sexual relations with them. Slaves did what they could to try to improve their lot and exercised various degrees of agency. Many died as slaves, but others became free. In the chapters that follow, we examine the lives of slaves and the varieties of slavery in detail. Taking a thematic approach, we devote attention to how people became enslaved, how they lived, how they worked, and how some ceased to be slaves.

CHAPTER 2

To Become a Slave

There are three kinds of slaves, the first is those taken captive in war who are enemies of the faith; the second, those born of female slaves; the third, when a person is free and allows himself to be sold.

—*Siete Partidas*, thirteenth century

There were many variations on the three methods of becoming a slave that the authors of the *Siete Partidas* noted, and several other ways that they failed to mention. An investigation of the complicated history of slavery in Iberia illustrates many of the paths toward slavery. Throughout the history of slavery, some slaves were born into servitude. Children of slave mothers were slaves; that was the usual rule. In Roman times, the children of a slave mother and either a free or a slave father were slaves from birth. These house-born slaves belonged to the mother's owner. In Muslim regions, children of slave mothers were slaves, unless the father was the woman's owner and acknowledged his child. In that case, the child was free. In medieval and early modern Christendom, children followed the status of their mother. Children of slave mothers were slaves. Children of free mothers were free, even if the father was a slave and even if the mother were freed only an hour before the birth, as the authors of a medieval Castilian law code put it.¹

Slave mothers produced slave children, and free mothers produced free children. This neatly posed proposition holds true in almost all cases, but, as with most absolute statements in history, there were exceptions. Scholars recently have found deviations from the general rule in the late Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula and other parts of the Mediterranean world. In late medieval Barcelona, for instance, a free father who had a child by a slave woman

belonging to a third party could claim the child as free, with a payment to the owner. A medieval law code of Valencia, the *Furs*, provided that masters who impregnated their slaves were obliged to free the mothers and the children produced. If an owner refused to recognize his obligation, the slave could take him to court. There were also provisions for the recognition as free of a child born to a slave woman and free man who was not the master.²

Self-sale and a variation—debt slavery—were unusual after Roman times, though examples appear in medieval Christian Spain. In the Crown of Aragon in the high Middle Ages, Muslims and recent converts could contract for periods of voluntary bondage and receive a sum of money to pay off debts that they could not otherwise satisfy. The periods of servitude were specified, but the volunteers ran the risk of being sold into permanent slavery if they failed to make the required payments.³ In late medieval Valencia, debtors could sell themselves or their children to satisfy the debt, usually for a temporary term after which the pawn would become free again. As one example, a Valencian Muslim enslaved his son to a Jewish creditor until the sum the Muslim owed was satisfied. Muslims in Christian Valencia could become slaves through penal sentence, for committing crimes such as grand larceny, attempted flight to North Africa, homicide, adultery, prostitution, and robbing owners of their slaves (mainly by aiding fugitives). Valencia's chief bailiff (*bayle general*) and his staff had responsibility to sell other slaves that came to be owned by the Crown. These were generally recaptured runaway slaves or transgressors such as vagabonds, unlicensed beggars, and convicted adulterers, whose crimes were punished by enslavement.⁴

Free-born people could become slaves in limited and statistically insignificant ways at different periods. In Roman times, destitute parents could resort to two methods for disposing of children they could not support. Parents could sell their children as slaves, though the practice was illegal. Or they could abandon unwanted infants, a process euphemistically called exposure. Not all the abandoned children died, as each locale had well-known places where parents left their unwanted infants, who could be rescued and raised either as slaves or as free persons.

In some periods, violations of law and custom could lead to enslavement for the guilty, but the numbers of slaves produced as a consequence of such actions were probably small. In the Visigothic kingdom, penal slavery was a mandatory penalty for certain offenders: rapists of free women, adulterous wives, those who induced abortions by drugs, kidnappers of free children, forgers, and counterfeiters. Public crimes, such as failure to come to the aid of

the king in wartime, carried the possibility of enslavement to the royal treasury or to a person the king designated. Mistresses of clerics could, in certain circumstances, be sold into slavery by the local bishop.⁵ In later periods, Christians who aided the Muslims by providing them with naval stores or ships or who navigated Muslim ships were to be enslaved when captured, according to a thirteenth-century Castilian law code.⁶

One special category of judicial enslavement could be seen in the Crown of Aragon, when in the fifteenth-century communities of Muslims (Mudejars) and Jews lived under their own authorities, who could judge the conduct of the members of their own community and punish transgressors. The Christian monarchs did impose certain limitations. Muslim and Jewish judges could not enforce the death penalty or corporal mutilation on convicts, even though their own law codes called for such penalties. In such cases, the guilty persons fell under royal jurisdiction and became slaves of the Crown. They could be sold or granted in turn to private Christian owners whom they would serve as slaves.⁷

Spanish judicial authorities during the early modern period sentenced convicts to duties deemed necessary for the state but considered too dangerous or difficult to attract free labor. The categories included galley service, mining, presidio service, naval arsenals, and public works. Convicts provided most of the laborers in these endeavors, but their numbers were almost always insufficient. At times, slaves were used to make up the full work force. The term “galley slave” is so common that we tend to believe that all rowers on galleys were always slaves. That is not true. Free, salaried oarsmen provided the crews of the galleys during the Middle Ages. The practice of sending convicts to row began under Fernando and Isabel at the end of the fifteenth century, and these *forzados* gradually replaced the free oarsmen over the course of the sixteenth. An increasing number of crimes were punished by condemnation to the galleys, and by the late sixteenth century penal servitude in the galleys had become the usual fate for convicted commoners. Convicted criminals from the nobility and the clergy were usually exempt, but the clergy who committed capital crimes could end up in the galleys.⁸

Forzados alone could not fill the demand for galley rowers, despite the increasing number of crimes punishable by galley service and despite the increasing rate of convictions. Their numbers consequently came to be supplemented by slaves from several other sources. Many were Muslim prisoners of war, captured in naval engagements in the Mediterranean and in attacks on North African cities. Other ways for slaves to enter galley service was for *forzados* to

purchase slaves who would substitute for them, or to provide money for such purchases. Government officials bought others, almost always Muslims, from private owners, frequently using the profits from the auctions of overage or disabled galley slaves. Slave owners, by selling or donating recalcitrant slaves to the royal officials for galley service, rid themselves of unsuitable slaves and perhaps ensured the loyalty of their remaining slaves, who no doubt hoped to avoid a similar fate.⁹ As an example, in 1603 the Spanish government paid don Diego López de Haro two hundred ducats as the price of two Turkish slaves whom he sent to the galleys.¹⁰ The government could confiscate privately owned slaves for galley service in times of heightened demand for galley rowers or at periods when private owners offered an insufficient number for donation or sale. In galley service, *forzados* could only work at the oars. Slaves might man the oars as well, but they could occupy other positions prohibited to the *forzados*, such as assistants of the guards and barbers and servants of the officers of the vessels.¹¹

Two special categories existed among the slaves on the galleys. One group, the *arráeces*—usually the captains of Muslim pirate vessels—were held as slaves permanently. They had no hope of being sold away from the galleys or of being freed. The other group was slaves who were sentenced to the galleys after having been convicted of a crime. During the term of their sentence, they blended into the mass of the *forzados*. When their sentences expired, they did not attain their freedom, unlike the *forzados*. Their owners could reclaim them; if they did not, the slaves remained in galley service.¹²

Galleys became increasingly obsolete in the eighteenth century, and, even before they were abolished in 1748, the slaves and *forzados* no longer principally worked as rowers. The galleys usually remained in port and their involuntary crews worked in the naval yards. After the galleys were abolished, it was a natural step for the government officials to assign *forzados* and slaves to the naval arsenals. There they worked at various tasks of maintenance in the naval yards; their most arduous task was to operate the pumps that kept water out of the dry docks. Convicts continued to labor in the naval arsenals until 1818, but the last figures for slaves working in them come from 1786.¹³

Forzados and slaves also labored in public works and at the mercury mines at Almadén and the silver mines of Guadalcanal. Almadén was a particularly harsh environment. Toxic fumes from the furnaces produced mercury poisoning, and the heavy labor of operating the pumps debilitated the workers and left them vulnerable to infectious diseases. Some of the convicts even asked to be transferred to the galleys to escape the mines. By the early eighteenth

century, slaves, usually purchased at low prices, came to be twice as common as convicts in the labor force. Improved technology in the eighteenth century, however, reduced the hazards of working there. It therefore became possible to recruit free workers, who ultimately replaced the slaves and *forzados* at Almadén.¹⁴

To sum up this section, slavery by birth was a constant throughout slavery's history. Self-sale, debt slavery, and penal slavery did produce slaves, but not consistently and not in great numbers. None of these methods produced sufficient numbers of new slaves to meet demand. The capture and later enslavement of people born free provided the greatest number of slaves.

From Free to Slave

Captivity in war or in raids was the principal avenue to slavery for freeborn people. Both Romans and Visigoths enslaved captives. In the early years of the rise of Islam, when Muḥammad and his first followers secured control of the Arabian peninsula, the prisoners of war they captured, other Arabs, were enslaved if they were not ransomed. When the Muslims expanded beyond Arabia, the situation changed. By the time the Muslims took Spain, the possibilities of enslavement through war had declined sharply. Islamic religious tradition held that Jews and Christians were “people of the book,” fellow seekers after truth whose holy books governed their religious actions. As dhimmī, protected aliens, they could not be enslaved outright, although during the wars of expansion the victors often violated this prohibition. Free Muslims could not be enslaved legally, but occasional violations of this rule followed quashed revolts. There was no mass freeing of slaves in newly conquered areas, even if the slaves later embraced Islam, and the mere fact of conversion to Islam was not sufficient to free a slave.

The practice of slavery in the Christian kingdoms was changing by the late eleventh and twelfth centuries as the Christian reconquest gained momentum. More and more frequently, campaigns by Christians captured and held whole towns and cities with large Muslim populations. Alfonso VI's seizure of the large city of Toledo in 1085 is perhaps the best example. No longer was it possible to carry out wholesale enslavements among the conquered population, even though some male prisoners—defeated combatants—were still enslaved. Rather, the remaining Muslims, the Mudejars, were allowed to remain and carry on their lives subject to the authority of the Christian

rulers. Enslavement of unransomed captives continued. As one example of the numbers of slaves captured, after the late eleventh-century reconquest of Avila, some two hundred Muslim slaves were put to work in chains to build the town's famous walls. After the significant Christian victory over the Muslims at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, several thousand defeated Muslim warriors entered the market as slaves. Later battles also brought still more slaves to the market: for example, the battle of Jerez de la Frontera in 1231.¹⁵

In the 1260s, the Muslim poet Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī lamented the fate of the Muslims who fell into the hands of the Christians after the conquest of Seville:

Yesterday they were kings in their own houses, but today they are
slaves in the land of the infidel!

Thus, were you to see them perplexed, with no one to guide them,
wearing the cloth of shame in its different shades,
And were you to behold their weeping when they are sold, the
matter would strike fear into your heart, and sorrow would
seize you.

Alas, many a mother and child have been parted as souls and bodies
are separated!

And many a maiden fair as the sun when it rises, as though she were
rubies and pearls,

Is led off to abomination against her will, while her eye is in tears
and her heart is stunned.

The heart melts with sorrow at such [sights], if there is any Islam or
belief in that heart!¹⁶

We can see how the process of captivity and enslavement developed in the conquest of the Balearic Islands. After King Jaume I the Conqueror took over Mallorca after hard fighting (1229–32), many members of the Muslim community fled, while others were enslaved. About the same time (1231), Jaume made a treaty with the Muslim population of Minorca, who accepted client status. The Muslims of Minorca adhered to the treaty until the 1280s, when they began a series of rebellions against the Aragonese. In response to the violations of the treaty, Alfons II subdued Minorca, treated the rebellious islanders in a punitive fashion, and enslaved the captives. The chronicler Muntaner reported that 40,000 captives were put on the slave market, although that figure is likely an exaggeration. Whatever their real numbers were, the captives

were offered the possibility of being ransomed. Those who could pay the ransom regained their freedom; the rest became slaves of the king. Some of these slaves were sold in Minorca, and many of the others ended up in the slave markets of the peninsula, in Sicily, or in Mallorca. Others remained in the hands of the king, who gave some of them as gifts to nobles and clerics, including the pope, and set some to work in the shipyards of Barcelona. On the island of Ibiza, as elsewhere, some captives converted to Christianity, gaining perks and the greater possibility of eventual manumission.¹⁷

During the reconquest of Valencia and the campaigns in Murcia, the Christian conquerors sold prisoners of war into slavery but reacted vigorously to stop Muslims who were not war captives from being sold as slaves.¹⁸ From among the captives, though, King Jaume sent some two thousand slaves as gifts to kings, emperors, nobles, cardinals, and the pope.¹⁹ In 1280, after King Pere took Montesa, “slavers continued for at least a year and a half their purchases among the multiple prisoners of war.”²⁰

In addition to war, free people could fall into slavery if they were captured in raids across religious lines, by incursions on land, by coastal raids, or by seizures at sea. Such raids continued through the centuries of the later Middle Ages and into modern times.²¹ They were features of the centuries-long confrontation between Muslim and Christian societies around the Mediterranean. Life was precarious for those, whether Muslim or Christian, who lived along the coasts or near the land frontier between the areas of Islamic and Christian control. As the Christian reconquest moved southward, royal and municipal authorities had to offer incentives for settlers in areas exposed to Muslim raids.

Muslim raids into Christian territory were designed for quick seizures of booty and prisoners, and the captives were held until they were ransomed. Along the frontiers of Muslim Granada in the fifteenth century, Christians fell into the hands of Muslims in several ways. Muslims made raids into Christian territory and captured groups and individuals. In addition to defeated warriors, the captives were usually people who had been working alone in the countryside, such as shepherds or farmers, or those traveling the roads, such as merchants. Coastal dwellers, especially those in isolated villages, ran heightened risks, as pirates or corsairs could raid with ease, just as they could capture vessels at sea.²² Christian raiders sometimes found themselves surrounded and captured, and individual Christians at times were sent into Muslim territory as hostages in exchange for other prisoners. As the reconquest moved still farther south, victorious Christian armies freed their coreligionists who were being held as slaves.²³

On the Christian side, Muslim prisoners of war increased the servile population in the aftermath of victorious Christian raids. By the eleventh century, Christian Spain had many fewer slaves of Christian origin and many more of Muslim origin. The multiplication of the manumissions over time meant that by the twelfth century few Christians were slaves. The Muslim slaves in this early period were seldom ransomed. They frequently received baptism, and ultimately they and their descendants became amalgamated into the lower rungs of the society of the Christian states. Once enslaved by war, for the Muslims, and once born into slavery, for the Christian slaves, they could be transferred from owner to owner by purchase and sale, by gift, and by testament. They could also be manumitted. Christians seem to have been manumitted more frequently than were Muslims.²⁴

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Portuguese monarchs and nobles conformed to general Iberian practice and enslaved Muslim prisoners of war. Portugal no longer bordered on Muslim territory after the Algarve was conquered in the thirteenth century. Thereafter, the most fruitful source of slaves for Portugal was North Africa, although occasionally the Portuguese participated in Castilian raids on Granada and obtained slaves there. In the late Middle Ages, Portuguese seamen captured North African and black African slaves in the waters off Morocco and took them back to Portugal or Spain. In 1317 King Dinis of Portugal gave the Genoese Manuel Pesagno a naval command and permission for privateering in Moroccan waters. Pesagno could retain one-fifth of all the slaves he captured.²⁵

In the Crown of Aragon, the methods of enslaving were similar to those employed in the same period by the Castilians and the Portuguese: capture in war and raids. The legal code of the town of Teruel shows the manner in which the captives were distributed following a successful raid. Their captors placed them under guard and made an initial sorting: some would be exchanged for Christian prisoners, and the others would be enslaved. The king got a share equal to one-fifth of the captives. This relied on precedent going back to Roman times: the sovereign received a fifth of war booty. The members of the expedition received numbers of slaves that varied according to their social standing and their actions in the campaign. The code of the town of Calatayud in 1120 stated that if a Muslim king were to be captured, he would belong to the Aragonese king.²⁶ After the Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century, the king of Aragon authorized his subjects on the island of Ibiza to conduct privateering raids against the Muslims. These raids, and those from other parts of the Aragonese empire, continued into early modern times. Directed

against coastal dwellers in North Africa and, until 1492, the Muslim kingdom of Granada, the raids produced captives sold widely in the Christian Mediterranean and as far as Portugal.²⁷

When the Catholic monarchs Fernando and Isabel entered the newly conquered city of Málaga in 1487, they freed with pomp and ceremony the hundreds of Christian captives, some of whom had been waiting twenty years for their liberation. The traveler Hieronymous Münzer in the last years of the fifteenth century asserted that “When the Muslims took Málaga, seven hundred years ago, they killed all the Christians. King Fernando vowed to do the same [to the Muslims] but lifted by his clemency and humanity, he sold them as captives. . . . The king sold 5,000 men, at 30 ducats each.”²⁸ All told, the victors enslaved between 10,000 and 15,000 Muslim inhabitants of Málaga. Those who could arrange to be ransomed were freed, but they had to go to North Africa and could not remain in Spain. Those who remained were sold throughout southern Spain.²⁹ Even common soldiers in the Granadan war got their share. Alfonso de Vergara of Seville, a legal official and part-time warrior, had two slaves. He took one of them home as war booty after the town of Alhama fell to the Christians and baptized him as a Christian with the name Francisco. The other was a white woman named Naxa; Vergara noted that he “won her with my own lance in the battle of Najarón and turned her into a Christian and who is now called Leonor.”³⁰

Wars of conquest produced slaves in the Canary Islands, but the slavery of the Canarians turned out to be a short-lived phenomenon. The first European captains who entered the Canaries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enslaved many of the natives, either legally in the case of the groups that resisted, or illegally in the case of the groups whose leaders signed treaties and were thereby supposedly exempt from enslavement. Despite official watchfulness, the conquerors violated the rules at times and enslaved members of the treaty bands. Members of allied bands who later rebelled or refused to carry out the terms of their treaties could be enslaved as “captives of second war” (*de segunda guerra*). Native slaves were used both as laborers in the Canaries and as commodities for sale elsewhere, mainly in Andalusia or in Portuguese Madeira.³¹ An example of this is shown in a royal order of Queen Juana of Castile in 1513 to Alonso de Lugo, governor of the Canarian islands of Tenerife and La Palma, and his associates. The queen’s order reviewed the fact that after the conquest was over many of the bands in the islands became Christian and their members married in the Christian religion. Later, they offered twenty-five of their children as hostages guaranteeing their continued allegiance to

the peace settlements. Lugo and his associates illegally took the twenty-five to Seville and sold them as slaves, alleging that they were captives taken during warfare with hostile bands. Juana ordered that Lugo and his deputies had one hundred days to locate the twenty-five, free them, and return them to their homes.³²

Christians from the Canaries also made raids on the African coast and brought back Muslim slaves during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Often those slaves converted to Christianity, won their freedom, and stayed to blend into the local population. On Lanzarote, a late sixteenth-century commentator, with obvious exaggeration, suggested that “three-quarters of the island population were Moors or their descendants.”³³

War also produced captives when Spain conquered cities in North Africa, beginning with Melilla in 1497, and continuing with Oran in 1509, Tripoli in 1511, and Tunis in 1535, along with other Moroccan ports and inland cities. These conquests produced prisoners who were sold as slaves by the Spanish monarchy, by war leaders, and by ordinary soldiers, who received one or two slaves as part of their share of the booty. Most captives ended up in Spain, where they remained until ransomed, or longer if they could not arrange their ransoms.³⁴

The Morisco Revolt

Relations between the Christian authorities and the Moriscos produced complications for the history of slavery. Although converted to Christianity, Moriscos maintained a number of the social customs of their ancestors and were never able to allay the suspicions of Spain's Old Christians about the sincerity of their Christian beliefs. They can be observed as a distinct group in Castilian history as early as the fifteenth century, when Juan II and Enrique IV employed them in royal service.³⁵ Their numbers swelled during the reign of Fernando and Isabel, when Muslims in the Spanish kingdoms, save only for those of Valencia, were forced 1502 to convert to Christianity or leave the country. Free Muslims followed different paths: some converted and assimilated, while others relocated to North Africa and continued their ancestral religion.³⁶

Among the Moriscos were a certain number of slaves. Nonetheless, the majority of the Moriscos of the sixteenth century were free, and some of them engaged in slave trading, in violation of early sixteenth-century laws

prohibiting them from owning slaves and much to the indignation of the representatives to the Cortes (the Castilian parliamentary body). The Cortes of Toledo of 1559 reported that Spanish Moriscos were purchasing black slaves in Spain and sending them to North Africa. They castrated some of them, presumably to fill the demand for eunuchs in the Muslim world, where emasculations were illegal and had to be done clandestinely. In response to the complaints of the Cortes, Felipe II ordered that slaves who suffered castration were subject to royal confiscation, and that the perpetrators would be fined.³⁷

Many Moriscos ended up being enslaved during the Morisco uprisings in the Alpujarras south of Granada that began in 1568 and continued until 1571. Royal armies eventually brought them under control, with many Morisco men killed, and many other men, women, and children held captive. An intense, though brief, debate occupied court circles. Could the defeated Moriscos be enslaved? After all, the Morisco community had been officially Christian for generations, and Christians were not supposed to be enslaved. Nevertheless, most Spaniards, even in the highest circles, considered them to be Muslims who only outwardly conformed to Christianity. The decision was that they were rebels and could be enslaved. Morisco captives began to be sold as slaves even before the government reached its decision. In the interim, sale documents had clauses protecting the buyers in case the enslavements were not permitted, and other Moriscos, ones not involved in the revolt, offered to hold the captives until their fates could be decided.³⁸ Many other Moriscos were killed, making orphans of their children. Still other Moriscos found themselves unable to care for their children and offered them to Christian families to be raised. Such children, both those orphaned and those abandoned or sold, ran the risk of being enslaved, but the *licenciado* Navas de Puebla, legal official of the army, intervened to save many of them from slavery. As well, Navas exempted many Moriscos from being expelled and no doubt saved their lives in the process. The royal officials ultimately ruled that boys below the age of ten and a half years of age and girls below nine and a half could not be enslaved. They included war orphans or those separated from their parents. Many joined Christian households, where they resided until they reached the age of twenty. Most were contractually linked to their patrons by a process that resembled both the older contracts of apprenticeship and the *encomienda* system of New Spain. In Almería, Navas de Puebla worked out legal arrangements by which the children were to be sheltered by their patrons and had to work for them until they came of age. Their patron could employ them as domestic servants,

and, if he were an artisan, he could teach them his occupation through apprenticeship. Many of the children became thoroughly assimilated and later married into Old Christian families. Their relatives by marriage helped them hide their New Christian backgrounds during the subsequent expulsions, which many of them must have been able to avoid.³⁹

Granada's Moriscos were relocated throughout the lands of the Crown of Castile in the aftermath of the revolts.⁴⁰ A generation later, in the early seventeenth century, all Moriscos—though still ostensibly Christians—were expelled from Spain. By various means, free Moriscos became slaves both during and after the expulsions, as others had become slaves during the Alpujarras revolts a generation before. Many expelled Moriscos left their children with Christian families; others sold their children to the soldiers. Adult Moriscos could be and were enslaved if they tried to avoid being expelled. After the expulsions, some Moriscos secretly returned, like Cervantes's Ricote in *Don Quijote*. Freeborn North African Muslims traveled to Spain in search of employment, though consciously running the risk of being enslaved. Those who were caught and identified could be enslaved. Others were open and voluntary returnees, who chose to return to Spain even if it meant living in slavery.⁴¹

Captives and Slaves

There were important differences between the actual and potential status of captives and slaves, even though historical documents and modern historians may treat the terms captive and slave or captivity and slavery as equivalent. Captives, as in the examples earlier in this chapter, were those people who became prisoners of victorious armies and fleets in time of war or of raiders on land or sea in smaller engagements in times of war or peace. A captive entered a temporary status from which he or she would emerge, either by becoming free again when exchanged or ransomed, or by becoming a slave if neither exchanged nor ransomed.⁴² The wars and the raids in medieval and early modern Iberia usually crossed religious frontiers, for Muslims did not enslave other Muslims, and Christians did not enslave other Christians.⁴³ When Muslims or Christians fought among themselves, as they often did, captives ended up as prisoners of war who were usually ransomed or exchanged and did not become slaves.⁴⁴ Conflicts between Muslims and Christians, on the other hand, produced captives who often failed to obtain

ransoms and ended up as slaves. Jarbel Rodríguez, in a recent book, drew the distinction between captive and slave: "In the world of medieval Iberia, therefore, captives were those individuals who, although they suffered many of the limitations and degradations of slavery, had a reasonable expectation of freedom and who owed their bondage to the religious wars between Christianity and Islam." Captives, both Muslim and Christian, could realize that their rulers, home communities, or their families—or all of these—would make efforts to redeem them. Slaves could not expect to gain freedom except by making a personal agreement with their owner. Though slaves might secure help from family or friends or through community organizations such as religious brotherhoods, they could not look for direct assistance from the larger society from which they had come.⁴⁵ Sometimes the trajectory from captive to free was rapid, a matter of hours or a few days between the end of hostilities and an exchange of prisoners. Normally, though, it stretched over months or years before family or community could arrange a ransom. Captives could never be certain of a quick redemption. In the early twelfth century, Eneco Sanz de Lanes told of his family's six-year ordeal when he was captured along with his wife and two children when the Almoravids raided Huesca.⁴⁶ From the late fifteenth century through the early modern period, arranging the repatriation of a Christian captive usually took years, often five or six, and at times as long as fifteen.

As they waited to be exchanged or ransomed, captives worked and lived very much as slaves, and many died before they received their ransoms. Given their circumstances, some Christian captives chose another way out of their captivity by converting to Islam.⁴⁷ Christian captives could convert to Islam and thereafter become free Muslims. In the early years of the Muslim domination, such converted captives may have accounted for a fair percentage of the new adherents of Islam. The author of the contemporary chronicle of Miguel Lucas de Iranzo in the fifteenth century put it this way: "And, sinful as it was, there would be some of them, in desperation because of the life they led, who became renegades from the faith, as others have done in cases such as this."⁴⁸ There is no way of even estimating how many availed themselves of the choice. The Muslim ruler of Granada had a special royal guard unit in the Alhambra in the fifteenth century, consisting of some six hundred troops raised from Christian boys captured, converted, and given military training.⁴⁹ The situation for Muslim captives in Christian lands was not parallel. They could convert to Christianity but often remained slaves thereafter.

The Captives

In the intermittent wars between Muslim Granada and various Christian states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and during the final Christian conquest of Granada in the last decade of the fifteenth, both sides raided by land and sea.⁵⁰ The uncertainty of the frontier was an unchanging feature of life for those who lived close by, a situation that continued for people living along the coasts throughout early modern times. On the Christian side, many people prepared wills that included sums of money, even though often symbolic and small in many cases, for the ransom of captives. Nobles did more, donating money during their lifetimes and leaving major sums in their wills for the redemption of captives.⁵¹ We lack similar evidence from the Muslim side, but it seems clear that they were exposed to the same anxieties. Christian raids on Muslim shipping accompanied the final reconquest of Granada, ending in 1492. Andalusian caravels pursued Muslim commercial vessels, called *carabos*, that took goods and passengers between the kingdom of Granada and North Africa. Back in Spain, the captors auctioned those they had caught, together with the other goods seized in the raids. The purchasers acquired them for two main reasons: they could hope that the families of the captives would pay their ransoms, or, otherwise, they could put the captives to work as slaves.⁵² Such Muslim captives usually became slaves, either collectively or individually. Christians fell victim to captivity by the Muslims as well. Most raids in the later Middle Ages came from North African and Granadan Muslims, who sometimes collaborated. Muslim raiders could often count on the help of local Mudejars to provide information about local strong and weak points and where booty might be found.⁵³ One prominent noble captive in 1456 was don Juan Manrique, count of Castañeda and royal captain of the Granadan frontier, whose release required the direct intervention of the Castilian king Enrique IV.⁵⁴ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Muslims of North Africa used captives as slaves unless and until they were ransomed.⁵⁵

Coastal dwellers at times also had to fear raids by fellow Christians. Muslim raids diminished somewhat in the fifteenth century, especially when Granada became Christian, but raids by enemy Christians increased. Among the most important of these were the Castilian raids, above all during the periods when Castile and Aragon were at war in 1429–30, or when King Alfonso V of Aragon was absorbed in the conquest of Naples in the early 1440s, or when rival forces vied for control of the Castilian throne from 1474 to 1479. The supporters of Isabel won the latter conflict, and in the ensuing peace, Castilian

corsair activity against the subjects of the Crown of Aragon fell off drastically. Portuguese corsairs also harassed the eastern coast, but on fewer occasions than the Castilians. The Genoese were great commercial rivals, and their competition at times spilled over to armed raids when Genoese corsairs attacked the coast of the Crown of Aragon. In the 1440s, corsairs from Provence began to raid the Aragonese-held Balearic Islands, the coasts of Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valencia. Both the Genoese and the Provençals took advantage of periods of conflict between Aragon and Castile to use the Castilian port of Cartagena as a staging point for their raids on Valencia and other coastal areas of the Crown of Aragon.⁵⁶ Most of the Christians captured by other Christians secured their ransoms and did not end up as slaves.

The continuing conflict, nonetheless, pitted Christians against Muslims. After Fernando and Isabel conquered the port of Almería from the Muslims in 1489, they began to resettle it with Christians. By 1500 the Christian authorities were concerned to stem the losses in goods and people that Almería began to suffer from Muslim sea raiders. The Crown undertook to strengthen local defense by repairing and rebuilding existing watchtowers and by building new ones. The numbers of coast guards expanded and their salaries grew. To pay for all this, they taxed the Moriscos, collecting the taxes that had formerly gone to the local mosques and establishing a new tax for coastal defense, called the *farda de la mar*, which apparently fell on all inhabitants at first but, with the passage of time, came to be paid exclusively by Moriscos.⁵⁷

The authorities of the Crown of Aragon found it difficult to defend against raids by Muslim and Christian adversaries. They established coastal watches and maritime patrols, especially from the port of Valencia, and began to construct a series of watchtowers in the fifteenth century. The line was not complete until the sixteenth century, when officials had to face the even greater threat of Turkish-led North African piracy. As a deterrent, they executed the pirates or corsairs they caught, but they could not stop the raids up and down the long and lightly populated coast. Raiders used small and fast vessels for quick raids and hasty withdrawals with captives and other booty. Communications were slow, and response time for vessels was necessarily slow.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, they tried to do what they could to raise the alarm. Special bugle calls denoted the danger on the coast.⁵⁹

Even if they found it difficult to defend their own coasts, the royal and urban authorities did allow their subjects to take the war to their enemies. Sea captains and fishing-boat skippers turned to raiding against their enemies. Captives produced a great source of income for these raiders. Some ship

owners became rich from this piracy, and their sailors lived well. This went little distance toward compensating for the terror that the isolated coastal dwellers and those who fished in small vessels had to live with throughout these centuries, never knowing if they would be caught and hauled off as captives to distant markets.⁶⁰

Some Spanish cities benefited, nonetheless. Valencia and Alicante became important slave markets. Local raiders and other Christian raiders sold slaves there, and the slave population consequently boomed. As a result of the Christian raids in North Africa, seventeenth-century Cádiz had a large supply of slaves and a wide range of uses for them. Numerous Muslim slaves arrived there after having been captured in military action in the Mediterranean. In 1616 Cádiz contained some 300 Muslim slaves; that figure had grown to around 1,500 by 1654. In 1680 alone, following the Austrian victory over the Turks, about 2,000 captives were sold in Cádiz. Because of the influx of new slaves, the range of occupations for slaves was wider in Cádiz than other Spanish cities. They were employed in public works, such as repairing the city's walls. They worked in provisioning the Indies fleets, and there were also galley slaves.⁶¹ Cartagena, too, benefited from the maritime hostilities. In 1670 Cartagena became the site of a permanent base for Spanish vessels patrolling the Mediterranean coast to prevent Muslim raiding. Local seafarers took advantage of the shield that the patrols provided to increase their own raids and their own trade to Spanish possessions in North Africa to secure slaves. The city of Oran was the principal enclave, in Spanish hands since 1509. When the Muslims retook Oran in 1708, some 5,000 Spaniards, soldiers and ordinary citizens, ended up as captives. When Spain captured Oran again in 1732, many Muslim captives were exchanged for Christian prisoners; others entered the slave markets.⁶²

Conditions in the activities of corsairs changed in the seventeenth century, when the North Africans employed Dutch and English shipwrights to replace the galleys in their fleets with sailing ships. As these required far fewer sailors, the captives gradually ceased to be galley rowers and remained working on shore until they were ransomed. Raids did not stop, however. One spectacular example took place in 1618, when a Turkish raiding party brought thirty-six ships to the poorly defended island of Lanzarote in the Canaries. They took away some nine hundred captives. As the raiders tried to make their way back to Algiers, a Castilian fleet captured seventeen of the ships and freed some two hundred of the captives. The other seven hundred captives had to reside in Algiers and hope for eventual rescue. Some were redeemed, but

others were not. Among the latter group, over a hundred decided to convert to Islam in order to be freed from captivity and live a free life in North Africa.⁶³

In the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714), Catalonia resisted the eventual winner Felipe V, and support for his opponents cost the Catalans dearly when the new king disarmed the population and dismantled fortifications. This made coastal defense against Muslim raids almost impossible, and a few years later the royal government permitted and supported the rebuilding of forts along the coast and the arming of merchant and fishing vessels. Change was slow in the early eighteenth century. Muslim pirates still threatened Spanish seaports and their citizens.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the eighteenth century saw a decline of raids and captivity in Catalonia, as in most other parts of the peninsula. Estimates for the number of Muslims captured in the period are less than a thousand, and a similar number of Catalans became captives of the Muslims.⁶⁵

All commentators stress the harshness that the captives endured. They were quickly transported from the place they were captured, often with only the clothes on their backs, which might have to serve them as their only garments for months. More seriously, women captives faced the possibility or the reality of rape. Once in captivity, they suffered continued deprivations of food and shelter.⁶⁶

The Muslims held their Christian captives under tighter control than slaves of other origins. Because many tried to flee back across the frontier, they had to be guarded closely to prevent flight. As they waited, the captives endured conditions described as “harsh,” “bad and painful,” and “sad.” They usually were locked up in closed cellars, often with leg irons, handcuffs, or other impediments to movement. As they worked as wood cutters, mill workers, harvesters, they could be chained together in gangs, and they faced harsh corporal punishment for infractions. Alvaro de Olid in 1439 described the prison for captives in Granada and wrote of the prisoners: “I swear to God that some of them lacked the appearance of a man, for they were nothing but skin and bone. . . . looking from head to foot one could count how many bones they had in the body, so great was their labor.”⁶⁷ Pedro de Medina, writing long afterward in the mid-sixteenth century, recalled the tradition that late medieval Christian captives in the Muslim city of Ronda, built on high cliffs above the river, had to carry water in leather containers (*zaques*) up some fifty meters from the river to the city. This gave rise to Spanish commonplace expressions: “May God set me free from the *zaques* of Ronda,” and “That’s the way you die, carrying *zaques* in Ronda.”⁶⁸

Existing documents recorded few voices of actual slaves, but we do have the words of the fifteenth-century poet 'Abd al-Karīm al Qaysī, who was for a time held captive in the Portuguese city of Évora. His ode to Muḥammad related to his own captivity.

O, captive among foes, who enters through his chains upon
humiliation and contempt, / whom God has ordained to live
in captivity subjected to dreadful trials, / endure patiently God's
judgment and comply with His decree, then your name will be
written with Him among the chosen. / Plead for your deliverance
because of the esteem of the most excellent Messenger, then you
will see his miracles immediately.⁶⁹

If not ransomed, captives were sold at auction. Some ended up as farm workers, and many others worked at urban tasks. The greatest peril for the Christian captives was to be sold to North Africa or other more distant parts of the Muslim world where they would be farther from possible redemption, and, because slave prices were higher in North Africa, the cost of their ransoms would be greater. Escape from North Africa was almost impossible, and unsuccessful attempts could be punished by mutilation of noses and ears.⁷⁰

In such circumstances, with the existence of the captives in a precarious state and with the prospect of redemption uncertain at best, it is not surprising that stories of miraculous interventions transcended the religious frontier. A late ninth-century example involved the famous Muslim scholar of Córdoba, Baqī ibn Makhḥad, who prayed on behalf of an impoverished mother with a captive son. Shortly afterward, the mother returned to the scholar with her son in tow. He told that his chains had miraculously broken and he walked home unimpeded. Various holy Muslims of the twelfth century were said to be able to free themselves or others by various miraculous methods, including changing the wind to blow a Christian ship with Muslim captives onto a Muslim shore where the captives were saved. Such stories about pious scholars and holy men intervening for captives continued across the religious divide into the sixteenth century and perhaps later.⁷¹

On the Christian side, the miracles attributed to Santo Domingo (St. Dominic) of Silos (d. 1073) included stories of miraculous interventions to free captives.⁷² One of the earliest stories, dating to fourteen years after Domingo's death, involved the Castilian soldier Pedro, captured during a Christian raid into Muslim territory and held in captivity in Murcia. The

saint appeared to him and offered him a way to escape. During a siesta one Friday, Peter

effortlessly took the iron fetters from his feet, and with the grace of the man of God, Dominic, going before him, in twelve days of good progress he reached the royal city of Toledo. When he got there, he told everybody all that had happened to him on St. Dominic's account, giving clear proof that all he has said was true. . . . All who heard this marvelous miracle . . . encouraged Peter to go to the monastery [of Silos] where the Saint's tomb was and there to tell all that had happened. This he duly did, and in the monastery of Silos narrated the great miracle from which he had benefited, gave thanks to God and to his liberator, and safely and joyfully went home.⁷³

Tales of Domingo's interventions continued to appear throughout the Middle Ages. Pero Marín, a monk of Silos, collected and recorded a series of the miracle stories over a long period from 1232 to 1293. An early one, dated 1232, told of the Muslim commander in Córdoba who rode out with an armed party to raid Christian lands. At the Alcolea bridge, two leagues from Córdoba,

he met in the middle of the bridge a man surrounded by an intensely bright light. The Moor asked him in Spanish "Who goes there?" The bright light replied: "I am St. Dominic of Silos." The Moor then asked: "Where are you going?" St. Dominic replied: "I am going to Cordova [sic] to rescue prisoners." Then the Moor ordered his soldiers to turn, and he got back to Cordova before dawn. In one prison in which he kept fifteen Christians, he shackled them all by the foot and throat and hand, and together with his men lay down to rest on the cover of the entrance to the prison. He sent messages to other Moors who had captives telling them to guard them well, for St. Dominic was in the city: and they put strong shackles on all of them. When day came they inspected the prison where the Moor's fifteen captives had lain, and found no trace of them, nor of the shackles. The Moor alerted the others, who then inspected their prisons, finding no captives in them. It was said that day 154 prisoners were released by St. Dominic and found to be missing.⁷⁴

A story of 1277–79 related how a group of mariners from Santander received the saint's assistance to escape from their captivity in Arzila in North Africa, and another told of a soldier's escape with the saint's help from Granada, just as his captor was about to send him to North Africa.⁷⁵

Accounts circulated about the assistance of other saints who rescued captives. One story about Santiago (St. James), the patron of Spain, provides a convenient overview of the slaving markets of the whole Muslim world.

In . . . 1100 a certain citizen of Barcelona is said to have come as a pilgrim to the cathedral of St. James in Galicia. He prayed to the Apostle only that he should free him from captivity by his enemies, if perchance he should suffer that. Then he went home, and later, while sailing to Sicily on business, he was captured at sea by Saracens. What next? He was bought and sold thirteen times at marts and markets. Those who purchased him were unwilling to keep him, because St. James always broke his chains and shackles. First he was sold in Kurashan, the second time in the city of Jezirah in Slav lands . . . , the third time in Blasía [unidentified], the fourth in Turkish lands . . . , the fifth in Persia, the sixth in India, the seventh in Ethiopia, the eighth in Alexandria, the ninth in North Africa, the tenth in Barbary, the eleventh in Bizerta, the twelfth in Bougie, the thirteenth in the city of Almería. In this last place, when he was shackled by a certain Saracen by a double chain drawn tightly round his legs, as he was praying to St. James on high, the Apostle himself appeared to him, saying: "Since, when you were in my church, you prayed only that I would set your person free, and not for the salvation of your soul, you have been cast into all these perils. But because the Lord has taken pity on you, He sent me to you in order that I should free you from this prison."⁷⁶

Redeemed captives, no doubt willing to believe they had received miraculous aid in their successful escapes, spread tales such as these that later coalesced into canonical miracle accounts.

The Christian captives who were taken to North Africa were held, at least initially, in special prisons known as "baños" before they could be ransomed and returned to Spain. While awaiting ransom, they could be employed in a variety of occupations that in certain cases mirrored those in which the Muslim captives worked in Spain. They could be put to work as rowers on

galleys and other corsair vessels. On land, they worked, often in chains, in the mines and stone quarries or on public works projects. As one example, when the Moroccan sultan established a new capital at the city of Meknes early in the eighteenth century, he employed some two thousand Christian captives among the thirty thousand construction workers. Some captives worked as domestic servants and artisan helpers, and those with specialized skills and occupations often worked in their accustomed trades.⁷⁷

Among the most famous of all Spanish captives was Miguel de Cervantes. He and his brother Rodrigo were traveling by sea from Naples to Spain in September of 1575 in the galley *El Sol*. Muslim pirates, led by two formerly Christian renegades, fell upon the Christian ship as it passed along the coast of Catalonia and took the Cervantes brothers along with the other captives to Algiers. There Cervantes would remain for five years. Though not of particularly exalted status, Miguel was a former military officer and carried letters of recommendation from two of Spain's highest figures: the admiral don Juan de Austria and the duke of Sessa. That caused the Muslims to view Cervantes as an important figure himself and to set a high ransom of 2,000 ducats for him and his brother. Though his father exhausted the family fortune, he was only able to ransom Rodrigo. Four years later, the widowed mother finally was able to raise the money for Miguel and arranged for the Trinitarians to negotiate his release. His experiences can be seen in the statements that he obtained from twelve principal Christians in Algiers about how he had comported himself as a captive and, fictionalized, in several of his literary works. His captivity appears prominently in two of his plays, *El trato de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*, and the chapters known as "The Captive's Tale" in *Don Quijote*.⁷⁸ The plays and the novel contain realistic descriptions of life in captivity and romanticized accounts of flight and escape (Cervantes attempted to escape four times), enlivened by depictions of remorseful renegades eager to return to the Christian fold, Muslim maidens seeking conversion to Christianity, and the inspirational guidance of the Virgin Mary. Cervantes was wise to secure written evidence of his bona fides. Some captives chose to convert to Islam to buy their freedom. This brought them condemnation from the Christians back at home, who branded the converts as renegades. The humbler ones blended into the local Muslim societies. Others rose to high military or naval ranks, often leading raids against their former homelands or serving as well-informed guides or scouts during raids. Enough of them tried to return to Christian lands and Christianity that all returning captives had to face a degree of suspicion and to prove or at least to swear that their faith had not faltered while

in captivity. Many captives, like Cervantes, took the trouble to obtain written statements that they had remained steadfast Christians during their captivity.⁷⁹

Some captives returned home, but they were likely few out of the many originally captured. The two sides frequently exchanged prisoners after the battles, as we have seen. Treaties between Christian and Muslim states frequently specified mutual repatriation of prisoners,⁸⁰ and public and private exchanges took place periodically. By the fifteenth century, Christian raids on Muslim territory were almost always followed by truces whose terms included provisions for the Muslim rulers of Granada to turn over hundreds and even thousands of captives.⁸¹ The prime responsibility for securing the release of long-term captives devolved on the families of the prisoners. In the Muslim parts of the Mediterranean, the mechanisms for ransoming captives remained rudimentary and less developed than in the Christian parts, where both church and state devised means to help Christian captives to return to their homes. Up to about the thirteenth century, Muslims most often redeemed their coreligionists by prisoner exchanges. Thereafter, with Muslims more frequently on the defensive, the task of redemption fell on Muslim communities with support of local magnates. Often this meant that Muslims in places such as the Christian kingdom of Valencia redeemed local captives more readily than captives from North Africa.⁸²

As early as the tenth century in Catalonia, church officials aided Christian captives. By the twelfth century, similar procedures were in place in both Castile and Aragon for those who wished to ransom a prisoner from the Muslims. The municipal law code of the town of Calatayud in the early twelfth century stated that the relatives of a Christian captive in Muslim hands could buy a locally held Muslim captive for the price the owner had paid and then take that person to exchange for their relative. If the exchange failed for any reason, the original owner could buy back the Muslim captive for the same price.⁸³ This practice was general, though the details could vary. Often the captives tended to be of humble origins, and their families frequently lacked the financial ability to ransom their kin. Collective measures were needed, and, before long, officials and deputized merchants began to arrange for the exchange of captives. In the twelfth century, Alfonso VIII of Castile directed officials of the military orders to redeem captives, and in Catalonia the counts controlled ransoming. When peace treaties between Muslim and Christian kings called for mutual exchanges of prisoners, representatives of the Christian authorities arranged to receive the Christians. Soon private citizens, usually licensed merchants, took both ransomed Muslims and Muslim slaves into Muslim

territory and returned with Christians whose ransoms were paid or who were exchanged for Muslims. They could also arrange to ransom prisoners on their own account. In all events, these agents received compensation for their activities. In Catalonia the official ransomer was called a *mostolaf*; the first ones whose names are known were four Jewish merchants early in the twelfth century. The term—*exea*—for such an official was originally used both in the Crown of Aragon and in Castile. It continued in Aragonese usage, but in Castile from the thirteenth century those who conducted these activities came to be called *alfaqueques*, from the Arabic *al-fakkāk*, an envoy or redeemer.⁸⁴

The frontier was a permeable barrier, and people crossed back and forth for any number of reasons, some peaceful and some not. To solve problems that might arise, the Castilian monarchs, beginning in the fourteenth century, named special officials whose tasks included settling cross-border disputes and supervising the work of the *alfaqueques*. There were four of these agents, called *alcaldes mayores entre cristianos y moros* (chief officials [negotiating] between Christians and Moors), one for the archdiocese of Seville, and one each for the dioceses of Cartagena, Cádiz, and the combined dioceses of Córdoba and Jaén. Each *alcalde* had at his command a group of police agents known as the *fieles del rastro* (lit. faithful ones of the track, or faithful trackers) who pursued criminals who fled across the borders.⁸⁵ Cuenca and other cities regularly taxed their citizens to raise funds for ransoms, and the monks of Santo Domingo de Silos ransomed captives in the kingdom of Granada and in North African ports.⁸⁶

Two religious orders, the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians, assumed a major role in redemptions by the thirteenth century and coordinated fund raising for that purpose.⁸⁷ In Christian Córdoba in the fifteenth century, whose citizens still ran the risk of capture and captivity in Muslim Granada, the members of the Cofradía de la Caridad de Jesús, a religious brotherhood, devoted much effort to ransoming captives. Monasteries from places far distant from the frontier, such as the Trinitarian monasteries of Burgos and Arévalo, sent money to help families to ransom captives.⁸⁸ At times, monarchs directed the ransoming orders to favor the ransoming of specified captives, often associates of the monarchs.⁸⁹ Examples of individual ransoming include Juan Batlle, a native of the kingdom of Valencia, who had a brother held captive in North Africa. In 1491 he bought a Muslim slave from a Christian merchant and arranged with the merchant to take the slave to North Africa, find the brother, and exchange the slave for him. In 1494 Francisca Bos sent a Muslim slave to Oran in a German vessel, with the slave to be exchanged for her husband who was being held there.⁹⁰

Muslim captives in the hands of Christians could hope for redemption by a variety of means, many of them similar to those used by Christians and including exchanges of prisoners either immediately after battles or over longer periods. We have fewer individual stories from Muslim sources than from Christian, but one tenth-century example is illustrative. After his forces failed to take the town of Simancas during a campaign against the Christians in 938, Muḥammad b. Hashim, ruler of Zaragoza, became a captive. As the chronicler reported, "His hands were bound and the price demanded for him was excessive. [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, the ruler of Córdoba from 912 to 961] did not fail in his efforts to ransom him, until that was made possible by heavy expenditure and burdensome expedients. He was delivered to Cordova [sic], a free man, . . . two years, three months and eighteen days having elapsed since the day he was captured."⁹¹ International merchants could undertake private exchanges. Such activities continued throughout the Middle Ages. Individuals could work to gain money to pay for their own ransom, as when a Muslim judge allowed Muslim captives in the Christian kingdom of Valencia to beg for alms for their own release. Others could hope that their families could arrange their ransom, and in some cases, family members could substitute as hostages for the captive, as, for example, a son might substitute for his father, on the assumption that a father might be better able than a minor child to raise the necessary money.⁹²

In fifteenth-century Castile, if Christian captives were to be redeemed by their families, often a personal exchange was the quickest path. But that implied having a Muslim available to exchange. A normal expectation, resting on long tradition, was that owners of Muslim slaves would make them available for such exchanges. In a number of Andalusian towns, the owners of Muslim slaves had to turn them over for exchanges in return for the price they had paid for them plus 10 maravedís. Problems arose, and in the Cortes of 1462, King Enrique IV provided a set of guidelines for compensation that depended on how long the owner had held the slave and whether he had captured the slave or merely bought him. Sometimes, too, Christians raided Muslim towns just to capture hostages to be exchanged for Christian captives.⁹³

The same procedures for ransoming captives prevailed as late as the eighteenth century, when the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians were still at work. By then they had been joined by the Congregation of the Santo Cristo de Burgos and the Third Order of the Franciscans. These groups collected money in Spain, as their earlier counterparts had done, both in the form of pious donations from ordinary people and as special ransom payments from the families

of captives. The redemptors used the money to support relief and religious benefits for the captives in North Africa and to purchase the release of as many captives as they could.⁹⁴ The Castilian Cortes on several occasions requested that bulls for the redemption of captives be preached so that more money for that purpose could be collected.⁹⁵ Cynicism and fraud were also present. King Carlos III issued a royal order in 1778 warning against foreigners who came to Spain, claimed to be redeemers, and pocketed the money they collected.⁹⁶

For those lucky enough to be freed, the homecoming was an emotionally mixed occasion. Following redemptions of Christians, especially when the Mercedarians had arranged them, the repatriated former captives still faced difficulties. They had to prove that their faith had not wavered, as we saw earlier. They had to make at least part of their own way home. On the way they were expected to participate in public processions and religious services, often by carrying their chains and then displaying them in churches. The chains and shackles that the former captives brought back are still to be seen in Spanish churches today. Those who had paid their full ransom prices still had to compensate their redeemers for expenses. Those who still owed the full price of their ransom could beg alms to raise the money. As one example, in the period 1433–1440, the archbishop of Zaragoza issued 111 licenses, called *litterae acaptandi*, to former captives to allow them to raise what they owed to those who had paid their ransom. These letters, addressed to the parish priests of the archdiocese, ordered the priests to provide hospitality to the bearer and to aid him in his search by making a public announcement asking the parishioners to offer donations to the licensee.⁹⁷

The height of the era of corsairing was from the late sixteenth century to the early eighteenth. This was only one component of the long-term conflict between adherents of Christianity and Islam. Each side raided the other for booty and, above all, captives, either to be put to work as slaves or as hostages to be exchanged or redeemed across the religious frontiers. Some of those captives were forced to row the galleys and other oared vessels. At the battle of Lepanto in 1570, as a significant example, four hundred of the five hundred vessels involved were manned by some 80,000 rowers, about a third of them slaves, with 20,000 to 25,000 Christian slaves on the Ottoman vessels and 6,000 to 8,000 Muslims on Christian vessels.⁹⁸

The raids, captures, and ransoms began to change in the eighteenth century, when the rulers of Spain and the North African states agreed to regular and extensive exchanges of captives. A representative of the sultan of Morocco went to Madrid in 1766 to establish diplomatic relations between the two

countries and to arrange the repatriation of as many Moroccan captives and slaves as possible. He was able to take back a large number, but only after a series of difficulties. His charge was to bring back Moroccans, not Muslims of other origins, such as Algerians or Turks. Complications arose in the case of married captives of different origins. Slaves of the Spanish king received immediate freedom, but individual owners of slaves had to be compensated, thus delaying the repatriation of their slaves.⁹⁹ Although corsair activities continued into the nineteenth century, the raids and the captures ceased to be an important part of the Spanish experience.¹⁰⁰

During the medieval and early modern centuries, the process of hostile encounters and subsequent captivity and possible enslavement continued. We have seen the ways by which some but certainly not all captives regained their freedom. Those who went unredeemed became slaves. All slaves shared common experiences, regardless of the ways by which they became slaves and regardless of how their conditions varied. In the next chapter, we will examine their lives as they passed through the commercial networks to their eventual buyers.

CHAPTER 3

The Traffic in Slaves

In one house [in Valencia in the 1490s], I saw men, women, and children who were for sale. They were from Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands, in the Atlantic Ocean, who, having rebelled against the King of Spain, were in the end reduced to obedience. . . . [A] Valencian merchant . . . had brought 87 in a boat; 14 died on the trip and the rest were put up for sale. They are very dark, but not Negroes, similar to the North Africans; the women, well-proportioned, with strong and long limbs.

—Hieronymus Münzer, fifteenth century

The Slave Trade

The slave trade lasted throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, in both Christian and Muslim areas, even though birth and capture in war and raids produced more enslaved people. Yet the categories of trade and capture are hard to separate, for many of the people traded as slaves in Iberia had originally been born free and had been enslaved during war or in raids far from the peninsula. Some came from as far away as the Russian rivers or Africa south of the Sahara. Others traveled only a few miles as they crossed the religious frontier in the Mediterranean or in the peninsula or simply moved from town to town under the control of slave dealers.

Those captives of war and raids who were not ransomed came to be slaves, as we saw in the previous chapter, and over time their chances for regaining their free status and their homelands diminished or faded completely. They had virtually no status in the new society. Some scholars have even called

such unfortunates the “living dead” because of their social and legal isolation.¹ They found themselves cut off from the people and things they had known from birth, and soon lost what they might have brought with them, such as their clothing and their accustomed foods. They held on longer to other ties to home: their religion and their language. Much depended on their ages, for those captured and enslaved as children remembered less than adults. Whatever their origins, they all began to acquire, slowly and painfully in some cases or more easily in others, familiarity with and a stake in the households and societies of their masters.

Roman Spain did not have a highly developed slave trade, though the defeated populations of some towns ended up as slaves and were exported from the peninsula. The Visigoths did not enslave the conquered Romans and provincials in a wholesale fashion, and domestic warfare did not usually produce slaves. The Visigoths, like other Germanic groups, were reluctant to enslave members of their own group, even though they did allow fellow Visigoths to fall into slavery for debt, criminal sentence, and self-sale. As the Visigoths looked outside for slaves, the ethnic and religious divisions present in the regions they conquered simplified their search. The Arian Christian Visigoths enslaved those they captured in their wars against the Catholic Franks. The Franks did the same, and large numbers of Arian captives entered the slave markets of Gaul. Arian and Catholic Christians could make slaves of pagans and Jews, and slave traders always brought slaves from distant lands. Pagan slaves from central Europe and from North Africa reached Spain as early as the mid-sixth century. There was a slave trade from Visigothic Spain to other parts of Europe and North Africa, but not much is known of it. Merchants sold slaves from Spain outside the kingdom, including some kidnapped children, even though there were some prohibitions on the export of slaves.²

The Islamic world experienced a golden age during its first centuries, and Muslim Spain shared fully in it. Once the bounds of the Islamic world were set, there were no more slaves to be obtained legally within the frontiers, except for rebels and the children of slaves. War produced relatively few slaves, and consequently the slave trade gained great importance. The Muslim elite acquired great riches and preserved that wealth through many generations. Thanks to the economic advantages that they possessed over their neighbors, they could afford to import what they needed and wanted from outside. The necessities included timber for fuel and construction, metals (iron and gold above all), and slaves, who formed an important component of the vast

new commercial system and who were considered necessities by large numbers of Muslims.³ Even though slaves seldom worked in agriculture,⁴ they still were imported in large numbers for artisan labor and domestic and military service. One indication of the volume of the slave trade comes from Córdoba. That single, albeit brilliant, city may have had nearly 14,000 slaves under the caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in the mid-tenth century, when the total population may have reached 250,000.⁵

The early period of the slave trade into al-Andalus is not fully documented, though the outlines are fairly clear. Even at the beginning of the conquest, the Muslims brought slaves and free servants with them. These included Ethiopians and Armenians, Egyptians and Nubians. In the ninth century, merchants brought slaves into al-Andalus from Christian Iberia (at that time the northern fringe of the peninsula) and other parts of Europe. Many of the slaves were pagans captured in Central and Eastern Europe, and others were Christians, captured in Muslim raids in France and northern Spain. The merchants included Christian Franks, who dealt in the European pagans, and Muslims and Jews, who dealt in Christians. The enslaved people who found themselves traded into al-Andalus could spend their lives there as slaves, or they could face more distant journeys to other parts of the Islamic world, for there was a lively re-export trade.⁶

Before the tenth century, the Muslims of Spain generally bought Christian Europeans as slaves, adding them to the descendants of indigenous slaves conquered in the eighth century. By the tenth century, the mostly pagan Slavs became the most numerous imported group throughout Western Europe, where their ethnic name became the origin of the word for “slave” in most Western languages, as we have seen. The Muslims used the term *ṣaqāliba* in Arabic, still another example of a newly coined word for slave derived from “Slav.” But *ṣaqāliba* were brought to Spain by slave dealers from any of a number of European origins: Central Europe (brought in via Verdun), the shores of the Black Sea, Italy, southern France, and northern Spain. Byzantine Christians, captured by other Muslims in the eastern Mediterranean, were present as slaves of the Spanish Muslims by the eleventh century, along with North African Berbers enslaved following unsuccessful revolts.⁷ Some were brought into Spain as eunuchs. Muslim Spain was well known for the presence of eunuchs and for their export to the markets of the Muslim Mediterranean. Young boys among the captives were castrated and then fetched high prices as eunuchs. Some of the slaves were castrated in Verdun and then taken to Spain. Others were made eunuchs in Muslim Spain.⁸

The rulers of Muslim Spain began to recruit foreigners as soldiers in the eighth century. The history of slave soldiers in the Islamic world is complex, although the basic motivation for their use was simple: they were loyal, with no local ties to compromise their loyalty to their masters. They came from North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and Europe, with the “Slavs” (Europeans) the most important group among them. They were brought in as children, converted to Islam, and given an education in Arabic. The real rise in their military use came with al-Ḥakam I (ruled 797–822), who organized a permanent force of salaried and slave soldiers. Al-Ḥakam II (ruled 961–76) made use of Slavs and had a unit of black soldiers as his personal guard. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, who declared himself caliph in 929, began to import and to employ Slavs on a larger scale. By the time of his death, their numbers in Córdoba are put at 3,750. The number of Slavs increased still more under the chamberlain al-Mansur (978–1002). The inhabitants of Córdoba, who dubbed them “the silent ones” because of their lack of proficiency in Arabic, regarded them with suspicion. Many of them attained freed status and formed families. Their presence disrupted the balance of ethnic forces in the caliphate and hastened its decline. Their role declined with the end of the caliphate in the early eleventh century, when many of them migrated to certain of the *taifa* kingdoms, the city-states that replaced the unified caliphate, where they eventually became rulers of Almería, Badajoz, Denia, Mallorca, Murcia, Tortosa, and Valencia. The trade in Slavic slaves virtually ceased, but slaves imported from sub-Saharan Africa rose in numbers and came to constitute a significant element in the slave trade to al-Andalus.⁹

The Muslims of Iberia obtained black African slaves through their connections with their coreligionists in North Africa. Muslims called the black Africans *‘abid* (plural of *‘abd* = slave) or *sūdān*. The latter term came from their place of origin south of the Sahara in the Bilād al-Sūdān, the land of the blacks, where the Sudanic belt of grasslands stretches eastward from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ethiopian highlands. Muslims had been familiar with the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa since they initially crossed the desert in the first Islamic century and brought back a few slaves. Their numbers grew as Muslim penetration into sub-Saharan Africa intensified. The North Africans from the eighth century maintained caravan routes across the Sahara to trade in the black states of the Sudan, many of whose leaders and merchants had converted to Islam. The North Africans provided the sub-Saharan markets with dates, figs, sugar, and cowries (shells for use as currency). Manufactured goods were quite important: copper utensils, ironwork, paper goods, Arabic books, tools,

weapons, and cloths of cotton and silk. The Sudanese had cotton cloth of their own, but imported dyed fabrics had an appeal for them. Jewelry, mirrors, and glass, especially Venetian glass, went south with the caravans. North African horses were in great demand south of the Sahara, because the military strength of the Sudanese states depended on cavalry. The North Africans also provided salt that they purchased along some of the caravan routes.¹⁰ In exchange, sub-Saharan Africa provided the North Africans with ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and leather, kola nuts, ebony wood, and a type of pepper. Nevertheless, gold and slaves were the most important exports from the Sudan to the Mediterranean. By the end of the eighth century Muslims already knew of the gold from the region. From the tenth century through the fifteenth, the Muslims and Europeans obtained much of their gold from West African sources by way of the trans-Saharan trade routes. The merchants and rulers of the Sudanic states grew wealthy and powerful as a result of their ability to supply the metal and thus to pay for their imports from the Maghrib.¹¹

The Muslim world had a constant demand for sub-Saharan slaves that continued through the Middle Ages and long after 1500, even maintaining maintained a sizeable volume during the period of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.¹² The sufferings of those who were forced to make the trek were horrifying. In addition to the heat and cold, the threat of storms, and the lack of water that they shared with the other members of the caravans, the slaves often had to act as bearers of other goods. Even when they did not carry loads themselves, they had to load and unload the camels and help with the daily camp preparations.¹³ The slaves who survived the desert crossing spread through North Africa, where many remained. Others were sent on to other Muslim lands, including Islamic Spain, but until the fall of Granada in 1492, most slaves of the Spanish Muslims were Christians from the northern kingdoms of the peninsula.

The Slave Trade in Christian Spain

The trade in slaves went both ways, of course. Iberian Christians imported slaves throughout the period as well, just as their Muslim contemporaries did. The slave trade changed over the centuries as the political and military balance shifted. The Muslim ascendancy from the eighth into the eleventh century declined as the Christians gained greater and greater control from the eleventh century to the end of the fifteenth.¹⁴ Those who operated the slave

trade changed as well. Among the slave traders supplying Muslim Spain, Muslim and Jewish merchants predominated in the early period. Sale documents indicate that Christian merchants tended to replace Jews in the slave trade, beginning in the twelfth century.¹⁵ Large populations of free Muslims came under Christian control after the thirteenth-century conquests of the south. Consequently, free Muslims were more numerous than Muslim slaves, who appeared more frequently in the frontier regions and less often at greater distances from the frontier. By the eleventh century, some black slaves began to appear in the Christian regions of the Mediterranean. In 1067, as one example, the Christian Arnallus Mironis and his wife Arsendis donated ten black captives to Pope Alexander III.¹⁶

Within Christian Iberia in the later Middle Ages, the lands of the Crown of Aragon were closely tied with the currents of Mediterranean trade and the slave trade, whereas the Castilian kingdom tended to supply its demand for slaves through war and conquest. Slave owning by non-Christians continued in the Crown of Aragon, although in a restricted fashion. Neither Jews nor Muslims in post-conquest Valencia could hold Christian slaves. Muslims could own Muslim slaves, but there was a constant attrition as Muslim slaves gained manumission or accepted baptism and left their Muslim masters. The laws of Valencia explicitly stated that the non-Christian slaves of a Jewish master would be free if they converted to Christianity. By implication, the same would apply to slave converts owned by Muslim masters. Local Muslim slave owners could not make up the losses. After the conquest, the Muslims were cut off from the Muslim slave trade, and their economic situation worsened, making them less able to purchase slaves from Christian suppliers, who used legal and extralegal means to increase the supply of Muslims to put on the market. Merchants from the Crown of Aragon took slaves to southern France, and Muslim envoys who visited Barcelona often bought Muslim slaves there.¹⁷

Many Muslim slaves entered the market after being captured in the conquests of King Jaume I, when Valencia and the Balearics came under Christian control in the early thirteenth century. Thereafter, things changed. The late medieval commercial and imperial expansion of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean coincided with the period in which it was less possible to secure slaves within the peninsula. Slave recruitment shifted as a consequence. Piracy and the slave trade fed medieval slavery in the Crown of Aragon.¹⁸ Throughout the thirteenth century, Muslims made up the bulk of the slaves; some were captives of pirate raids and from the Castilian raids on the Muslim kingdom of Granada. In the thirteenth century, too, documents began to

show distinctions among the Muslim slaves—white, brown, olive—which indicated recruitment from wider areas than before.¹⁹ By the fourteenth century slaves of other origins came into the Iberian Mediterranean.

Then the Black Death hit. A great pandemic came to Europe from Central Asia, crossing to the areas around the Black Sea by way of the caravan routes opened by the Mongols and reaching the Crimea in 1346. Two years later it entered Italy by way of Constantinople. From Italy it spread throughout Europe, causing the deaths of a third or more of the European population in a period of three years.²⁰ Among the catastrophic consequences of the plague was an increase in slavery, as local free survivors of the plague could demand higher wages and better working conditions. Those who sought servants and manual laborers turned to buying slaves. In the Iberian slave markets of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more women than men appeared. This set of facts fits well with the Italian evidence for the period that points to a strong growth of slavery, especially domestic slavery, following the Black Death.²¹

New sources of slaves began to supply the markets of Catalonia and Valencia, whose merchants were active throughout the Mediterranean and into the Black Sea. They, together with Italian merchants, brought slaves from distant regions to Barcelona and other cities. For a time in the fourteenth century, Greeks appeared in the Crown of Aragon as slaves. Their presence was due to the Catalan freebooters called the *Almogávares* and their conquests in the Balkan Peninsula. The Greeks, however, were Orthodox Christians. Efforts by church officials in Rome and Barcelona freed many of them and eventually stopped the trade, on the grounds that Christians should not enslave Christians. By the fifteenth century, another reason for the end of the trade in Greek slaves was the decline of Catalan influence in the Balkans.²² The slave trade from the eastern Mediterranean diminished by the late fifteenth century, as the Ottoman Turks consolidated their control in the region.

Sards came on the market in relatively small numbers during the early fourteenth century, when the Crown of Aragon was taking over Sardinia. Theoretically Sards were subjects of the Aragonese king, but those who resisted the conquest and those who later revolted against the conquerors could be enslaved.²³ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Italian merchants brought back Albanians, Tartars, Russians, Caucasians, and other Crimean peoples. Albanians also fled from the Turkish advance in the Balkan Peninsula in the 1380s. Some, in desperation, sold themselves into slavery and ended up in Venice, from where dealers transported some of them to Mallorca and Catalonia. Turks and Armenians appeared among the slaves of the Crown of Aragon, but

they were only a small proportion of the total numbers.²⁴ The town of Vic in Catalonia, isolated from the sea and from the frontier with Islam, had slaves from a surprisingly varied set of origins in the early years of the fifteenth century. Of 39 slaves sold in that period, 14 were Tartars, 7 “Saracens” from either Spain or North Africa, 6 black Africans, 2 Circassians, 2 Russians, a Canarian, a Bulgar, and a Bosnian.²⁵

To move to the center of the peninsula, slaves in Castile were almost exclusively Muslim in origin during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Before the fifteenth century, Castile was not greatly involved in Mediterranean activity and purchased few slaves from Mediterranean merchants. Thus only small numbers of slaves from the Mediterranean reached Castile. Rather, Castilian slavery was fed by the reconquest and the raids into Muslim territory, and, within the territories under Castilian rule, Andalusia was the most prominent location where slaves were used.³⁴ In Cádiz at the end of the fifteenth century, there was a sizeable number of slaves, both because many citizens of the town owned a small number of slaves, and because many Muslim slaves passed through Cádiz before being sold elsewhere, notably in Valencia. In Cádiz, too, we see evidence of a few Jews sold as slaves.²⁶ On increasingly rare occasions, slaves from Eastern Europe could find themselves in Andalusia.²⁷

The slave trade in Canary Islanders had a relatively short existence from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. When individual European captains with authorization from the Castilian monarchs undertook the conquest of the Canaries in various phases, they found the islands inhabited by natives akin to the Berbers of northwest Africa who were living at a Neolithic level of culture. They likely had lived in isolation from the rest of the world since the end of the Western Roman Empire, a thousand years before. Politically they divided themselves into smaller or larger bands, and the Castilian conquests proceeded by securing treaties with some of the bands and conquering others. The settlers in time remade the Canaries along the lines of Europe, with cities, farms, and sugar production facilities, but in the initial phases of the conquest the conquerors resorted to enslaving natives as a quick way to make the profits necessary to repay the loans to pay for their expeditions, mainly financed on credit. Only natives of the conquered bands could be enslaved legally, but the royal agents had to maintain constant vigilance to ensure that the conquerors did not violate the rules and enslave members of the treaty bands.²⁸ But there was a loophole. If members of allied bands rebelled or refused to carry out the terms of their treaties, they could be enslaved as “captives of second war” (*de*

segunda guerra), as we saw earlier. Many enslaved Canarians were sold on the mainland, whereas others remained in the islands and found themselves put to work by the Europeans. The material and legal conditions they lived under resembled, not surprisingly, those of the slaves in late medieval Spain.

Natives of the Canaries did not make a substantial or a long-lasting addition to the international slave trade and did not even fill the labor needs of the Canaries. The indigenous Canarian population was small to begin with, and the isolated island peoples fell victim to diseases common in Africa and Europe. Manumission was common for those who did become enslaved. The Canarian slave trade to Europe ceased early in the sixteenth century, as the remaining Canarians increasingly assimilated European culture and intermarried with the colonists. Other sources of labor were necessary before the islands could be developed fully. So the Canaries witnessed the influx of other laborers, including a number of free Castilian workers. More substantial settlers often brought their own slaves with them. Berbers and black slaves were obtained from Castilian raids and trade along the West African coast, or brought to the Canaries by Portuguese dealers. In the course of time, slaves came to be born in the islands. For a short period after the first Spanish contact with the Americas, Indians were sold in the Canaries. Their numbers were always few, and the trade soon stopped when the Spanish monarchs outlawed slave trade in Indians.

Black African, Muslim, and Morisco slaves came to constitute a significant component among the work force in the Canaries. The settlers in the Canaries acquired imported slaves in a variety of ways. Some slaves, who had already spent time in Spain, accompanied their Spanish owners when they migrated to the Canaries. Portuguese merchants sold others from their ships as they stopped in the Canaries on their return voyages from West Africa. Castilians competed with Portuguese in the trade, especially during the war between Castile and Portugal from 1474 to 1478. By the treaties ending that war in 1479, Portugal received a monopoly on trade with Africa south of the Canary Islands, but illegal Castilian raids continued into the sixteenth century.²⁹ Castilians engaged in raids called *cabalgadas* mounted from the Canaries, and along the African coast north of Cape Bojador they acquired captives and cattle. Manuel Lobo Cabrera found records for 154 raids from the eastern Canaries during the course of the sixteenth century. The greatest number (87) left from Lanzarote, followed by Gran Canaria with 59. Only 8 left from Fuerteventura. At times, the raiders acquired black slaves directly, although often a more complicated process ensued. Most of the human booty from the

raids consisted of Muslims. Some were enslaved, converted, and later freed. Other Muslim captives, those who were able to do so, negotiated for their ransoms, and frequently they paid for their ransoms with variable numbers of black slaves. This became one of the most common means by which sub-Saharan Africans entered the islands.³⁰

Castilians also went at times from the Canaries to the Cape Verde islands, where they could purchase African slaves directly from the Portuguese residing there. From the Canaries they also circumvented the Portuguese by going to Senegambia and the Upper Guinea coast to acquire slaves. This trade was illegal until the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns under Felipe II. The slaving expeditions to black Africa were always less frequent than the *cabalgadas* to Muslim-controlled North Africa. Over the course of the sixteenth century, some 25 expeditions from Gran Canaria went to black Africa, whereas 59 went to Barbary. It has been estimated that from all sources, some 10,000 slaves were brought to Grand Canary Island during that century, and that slaves represented some 10 to 12 percent of that island's population.³¹

The Portuguese were the main slave traders of Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, even though Spaniards operating from Andalusia and the Canaries acquired some black slaves and brought them to Spain. In the first decade of the Portuguese African slave trade, ca. 1434–1443, the Portuguese often raided for slaves along the Saharan coast, but they soon came to realize that purchasing slaves was more acceptable to the local African rulers and that trade also made better economic sense. The chronicler Azurara described the scene with a mixture of complacency and pity, as a group of slaves arrived in Portugal in 1444.

And these, placed all together in that field, were a marvelous sight; for amongst them were some white enough, fair to look upon, and well proportioned; others were less white like mulattoes; others again were black as Ethiops, and so ugly, both in features and in body, as almost to appear (to those who saw them) as images of the lower hemisphere. But what heart could be so hard as not to be pierced with piteous feelings to see that company?³²

To exchange for the slaves along the African coast, the Portuguese took goods from Europe and some from Morocco, including horses, cloth, saddles and stirrups, saffron, wheat, lead, iron, steel, copper, brass, caps, hats, wines, wheat, and salt. In return they secured gold, especially at the trading center

at São Jorge da Mina, and a variety of exotic luxuries to be sold in Europe: slaves, animal skins, gum arabic, civet, cotton, malaguetta pepper, cobalt, parrots, and camels.³³ Portuguese slave trading soon became more complex, as traders took slaves from several places on the West African coast to markets where they could be sold. These included the Portuguese colonies in their own Atlantic islands, the Canaries (as we saw), and Portugal itself. Perhaps surprisingly, they also sold African slaves from farther south to the local African rulers and merchants at São Jorge da Mina. Part of the African demand for slaves at Mina came from the African merchants, who needed bearers to carry the bulky imported goods from the coast to the interior. To meet the demand at Mina, the Portuguese took slaves there from the region of the Niger Delta and used them as part of the price they paid to buy gold from the local merchants. Portuguese slave traders also provided slaves to satisfy the labor needs of the new Portuguese plantations in São Tomé, the Cape Verdes, and the Madeiras. The Portuguese sold other slaves to Castilians in the Canaries or on the mainland. Only a minority of the African slaves who fell victim to the Portuguese slave trade actually arrived or remained in Portugal. Merchants later exported significant numbers of them to other parts of Europe, particularly to Spain and Italy.³⁴

The black African slaves included people from various ethnic groups in West Africa. Spaniards and Portuguese of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries referred to the place of origin for many sub-Saharan slaves as “Guinea,” a word that passed into English. It probably derived from a corruption of the name Jenné, a principal trading city just south of the Sahara. The area called Guinea corresponded to modern Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea-Conakry, and parts of Mali and Burkino Faso. Other slaves came from the Kongo kingdom and Angola, as well as from the Cape Verde Islands, though most of them had been captured on the mainland. The slave trade expanded significantly into new areas. Up to about 1550, most were Mandinga and Jolofs/Wolofs, and as the century progressed more and more came from Kongo and the islands of Santo Tomé and Cape Verde.³⁵ These latter islands were entrepôts, and slaves from many regions came to be assembled there.

The Portuguese had royally chartered factories at Arguin, Ughoton, and elsewhere, in addition to Mina. There the exchanges were conducted between the royal officials on the spot and the ships’ officers. At places other than the factories, the crews dealt directly with local African merchants and rulers, or with go-betweens. Crown regulations specified treatment aboard ship, but there were problems of food, water, clothing, and shelter that could cause

disease and death for the slaves. Those who died en route were dumped overboard. Chains and manacles were available to control the recalcitrant, but insurrections did occur. In 1509, for example, a group of slaves from Arguin tried unsuccessfully to take over a slave ship.³⁶

The Portuguese slave trade had a rather loose organization during the first four decades of its existence. Shipmasters needed special licenses to make the voyages to Africa, and on their return they had to pay a certain percentage of their profits to the royal treasury or to a royal designee. They could unload and sell their cargoes in various Portuguese cities, usually in the south. By the 1460s the trade was becoming more lucrative, and, as tighter regulation seemed essential, the king in 1474 assumed full control over the trade with the West African region. Gradually, the Portuguese royal officials began to center the administration of colonial trade in Lisbon, although slaves could still be unloaded in Setubal and some ports of the Algarve. From the 1480s the Lisbon House of Slaves, the *Casa dos Escravos de Lisboa*, administered the trade and collected the royal dues, under the direction of a royal official, the *almoxarife dos escravos*. His deputies met each ship arriving in Lisbon from Africa to inspect its cargo and records. Once that was done, the fettered slaves were led through the streets to the House of Slaves. Located near the Lisbon docks, it contained a prison for confining newly arrived slaves before they were sold, offices for the administrators and record-keepers of the trade, and a cooorage for the construction of casks and barrels needed for royal vessels. Officials would assign a price based on the variables of sex, age, physical condition, and health. Individuals or wholesale contractors (*corretores*) purchased the slaves and sold them in the public slave market of Lisbon or transported them elsewhere.³⁷

It is virtually impossible to determine accurately the numbers of slaves involved in the Portuguese slave trade back to Europe. As we have seen, the vessels that loaded slaves in West Africa did not bring all their cargoes back to Lisbon, despite royal efforts to centralize the trade. Many ships stopped off in the islands and disposed of some slaves there; others unloaded in Portuguese towns south of Lisbon; while others still sailed directly for Seville and other ports of Andalusia. A. C. de C. M. Saunders estimated that from 1441 to 1470 up to one thousand slaves reached Lisbon yearly, and that from 1490 to 1530 between three hundred and two thousand slaves annually were brought to Lisbon.³⁸ Ivana Elbl estimated that the Atlantic slave trade from West Africa to Europe and the eastern Atlantic islands was 156,000 in the period 1450–1521.³⁹ The Portuguese brought a few Indians from the subcontinent to Iberia. We

can see the geographical trajectory of two such slaves: the slave Rodrigo in his mid-twenties from Calicut sold in Málaga in 1511 and the fourteen-year-old Francisco Enrique, a Muslim also from Calicut, brought to Iberia by a Portuguese merchant and sold in Córdoba in 1519.⁴⁰

Functions of the Internal Slave Market

Whatever their origins and by whatever routes they reached Iberia, slaves were merchandise in the slave markets of the peninsula. We have little evidence of the markets of Roman and Visigothic times. In al-Andalus, as elsewhere in the Muslim world in the Middle Ages, most slaves were sold in the urban markets. In them, the market's governor regulated slave merchants and their transactions. Special women clerks oversaw the welfare of the women slaves and prevented them from being used as prostitutes while awaiting sale.⁴¹

In the late medieval Crown of Aragon, dealers sold slaves both privately and publicly. When slaves first arrived in both Barcelona and Valencia, they were often sold in the streets and squares. In Barcelona, traders exhibited their wares in the morning market in the Plaça Nova and all day in the Plaça Sant Jaume.⁴² Other recent arrivals and slaves being resold were shown to buyers in private houses owned or rented by the sellers. The government of Valencia regulated and taxed the slave trade, and consequently Valencian archives house a fund of documents revealing the varied facets of slave life and conditions in that kingdom. More information about the internal slave market is available for Valencia than perhaps for any other city of the Christian Mediterranean. Valencia reflected the older pattern of slavery in the medieval Mediterranean, unlike Seville, which came to fit the pattern of Atlantic centers. If slaves were not as numerous in Valencia as they were in Seville, they were more varied in their ethnic origins. The bulk of the slaves there were Muslim in origin, either from the kingdom itself or from North Africa. There were also other slaves from other provenances present in Valencia, brought there via the established slave trade routes.

Merchants with slaves to sell used Valencia as their favored market in the Crown of Aragon. With the fifteenth-century decline of Barcelona, Valencia became the most important commercial center on the peninsula's Mediterranean coast. Valencians made up about a third of the dealers, and the rest included merchants from other parts of the Iberian peninsula and from various Italian cities. The dealers first rested their newly imported slaves and then

displayed them publicly. Before slaves could be sold, the chief bailiff (*bayle general*) had to register them, and that official collected the royal tax of twenty percent on the sale of slaves. At the time of sale and long afterward, the *bayle* had great authority over the lives of the slaves. At the time of registration, another official, the *alcaldí del rey*, together with the *bayle* or his deputy, interviewed the slaves, using translators if necessary, concerning their origin and the circumstances of their enslavement. The sellers had to swear that their slaves had been legally purchased or acquired as a result of good war or just war.⁴³ Barcelona had similar laws to determine if slaves had been legally acquired.⁴⁴

The *bayle* and his agents set a price for each slave. White slaves were the most expensive, and women were more expensive than men. Canarian slaves were cheaper than Muslims. Newly arrived black slaves were the cheapest of all, because they were assumed to need more training. Blacks who had lived previously in a Muslim or Christian kingdom were more highly valued, because they were assumed to be more fully acculturated than those who came directly from black Africa.⁴⁵ Adults usually commanded higher prices than children or adolescents. Those who were judged to possess desirable qualities—beauty, intelligence, skills—carried higher prices. The *bayle* set each slave's price and collected the royal duties. Then he gave the owner a receipt noting the slave's name, condition, and place of capture. For slaves to be sold outside the kingdom, the receipt also listed name of the owner and where the slave was to be sold.⁴⁶ The dealers regained custody of their slaves after the *bayle* had completed his work, though his staff would continue to monitor the lives of the slaves. The *bayle's* agents visited towns of the kingdom to determine if the slaveholders had registered their slaves and paid the requisite tax on them. He was also responsible for the pursuit and apprehension of fugitive slaves and for the sale of criminal slaves who came to be owned by the Crown.⁴⁷

The German traveler Hieronymus Münzer of Nuremberg visited Spain in 1494–1495 and commented on the Canarian slaves he saw in Valencia:

I saw in one house men, women, and children for sale. They were from Tenerife, an island of the Canaries group in the Atlantic Ocean, who, having rebelled against the king of Spain, were finally reduced to obedience. The people were being sold in the house, and at that time there was found a Valencian merchant who had brought 87 in a ship; 14 died on the trip, and he put the rest on sale. They are very dark, but not black, similar to the Turks; the women

[are] well proportioned, with strong and long limbs, and all of them bestial in their customs, because until now they had lived without law and sunken in idolatry.⁴⁸

In Andalusia in the early modern centuries, a similar process to that of Valencia was used to determine the origin of slaves and if they could be sold legally. Muslims, either captured in Christian raids on the coasts of North Africa or apprehended on the Spanish coast while trying to seize Christian captives, had to be registered with the public authorities, either the local captain general or the governor of the fortress, before they could be sold. They had to be declared to be slaves of “good war.” If they were, the royal impost of twenty percent could be paid and the slave then sold. Captives who came from North African regions whose rulers had signed peace treaties with the governors of the Spanish enclaves on the North African coast could not be enslaved. They were freed, and the Christians who had illegally captured them received punishment.⁴⁹

In Granada, slaves were sold in the public markets or in private homes. Few slave merchants in Granada were foreign; most came from Granada or other parts of Andalusia. Merchants from Málaga traded mostly in North African slaves, whereas merchants from Seville specialized in sub-Saharan Africans.⁵⁰ Sometimes slaves were sold along with other possessions. As an example, in 1536, the mayor of Marbella sold a small vessel, a *fusta* named “La Guzmaná,” in Málaga and included the boat’s caretaker in the deal, a black slave named Francisco.⁵¹

Seville in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the nexus of a trade that brought enslaved people to Spain from Africa and the Canaries, acquired others via Portugal, and reexported many to other parts of the peninsula and further afield in Europe and to Spain’s overseas possessions. The human merchandise usually arrived overland from Portugal or by ships that passed up the Guadalquivir River from the Atlantic. Their owners sold them by auction or privately in portions of the city known for slave sales. The Calle de las Gradass near the cathedral was the most famous, followed by the Calle de Bayona and the Plaza of San Francisco. Slave dealers would parade their wares through the streets, accompanied by an auctioneer who would arrange sales on the spot, mostly to private buyers. Buyers acted for themselves or through an agent. Married women had to have their husband’s permission to buy or sell a slave, but widows could act for themselves or for their children. Once the sale took place, the parties went before a notary and recorded the

transaction in a document that included details about the buyer, the seller, and the slave. Throughout the kingdom of Castile, the *alcabala*, or tax on sales in the markets, applied to slave sales. Slaves moving through Cádiz and in and out of Seville were subject to taxation, which their owners paid. A customs tax (*almojarifazgo*) in 1502 set the rates at 5 percent on entering slaves and 2.5 percent on those who left. If masters brought in slaves for their own use, they were exempt from paying the customs fees, unless they were bound for the Spanish colonies in the Americas.⁵²

Citizens of Seville were the most numerous among the slave dealers, and other Castilians joined them, as did Basques from Vizcaya. It is interesting to note that merchants who dealt in slaves, even in as important a slave market as Seville, were not exclusively slave merchants. Rather, their slave dealings were only part of a wider range of commercial ventures. The trade carried a social stigma, as merchants who dealt in slaves were considered less than good Christians, even though they were Old Christians and not recent converts. Foreign merchants were there as well, as both sellers and buyers. The Portuguese were the main suppliers of African slaves, bringing them from the Portuguese enclaves on Africa's west coast to Lisbon or to Portuguese ports in the Algarve such as Faro and then to Spain by way of land routes that hugged the Atlantic coast or through southern Portugal to Extremadura, where the town of Zafra was a major nexus. Some Portuguese merchants resided in Seville as agents of Lisbon slave merchants. As one indication of their importance, five Portuguese slave traders in Seville accounted for just over 40 percent of all the slaves sent to Spain's American colonies in 1569–1579. The Portuguese were most often sellers, and some of them formed associations with locally resident Genoese and other Italian merchants to import slaves. Genoese merchants resident in Seville occasionally made trips themselves to the Portuguese enclaves in West Africa to bring back slaves to Seville. By the late fifteenth century, Flemish and English merchants came to Seville to purchase slaves.⁵³

Throughout Iberia, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, the sale of a slave was an intricate dance between the buyer and the seller, who had to pledge that the slave was a product “of good war, not of peace, and that he or she was not a fugitive, nor consumptive, nor possessed by the devil, nor a drunk, nor a thief, nor blind in one eye or both, nor a bed wetter, nor suffering from epilepsy or buboes, nor from any other infirmities with all his or her good or bad qualities, seen or unseen,” as a formula from Seville stated.⁵⁴ On the island of Mallorca, sellers of women slaves had to certify the state of their menstrual patterns and whether they were pregnant, though evidence

for similar certifications is not available for Seville.⁵⁵ Because it was difficult or impossible for the seller to demonstrate and for the buyer to determine all the conditions of the slaves, sometimes slaves were stripped naked to allow closer inspection, or the sales contract allowed for a trial period before the sale became final. If hidden defects became apparent, the purchaser could return the slave.⁵⁶

A document of 1514 from Seville reveals how one such transaction played out. Gonzalo Días alleged that about two months previously Juan de Palma had sold him a slave woman from Guinea, black in skin color, and advertised as healthy. Días sold the woman a few days later to Cristóbal Rodríguez, who complained that the woman was ill with buboes and had a broken spine. Días asked that the original sale be nullified and that Palma take back the woman, mentioning nothing about the woman's obvious suffering.⁵⁷ Sometimes the sale documents indicated clearly the defects the slave suffered and offered money-back guarantees. One such was in 1523 in Seville, when a married couple offered to sell Antonia, a North African girl of six, to Luis de Celada. Antonia was described as marked on the chin and blind in one eye. Moreover, they attested that she had wet her bed several times while they owned her, a clear suggestion of psychological problems arising from separation from her family at such a young age. They agreed to let Celada return the girl for a full refund if he wished after two months.⁵⁸

Donations

Not all slaves passed through public markets. After his conquest of Valencia in the early thirteenth century, the Aragonese king Jaume I distributed some two thousand slaves as gifts to rulers, nobles, and church officials throughout Western Europe.⁵⁹ We can also find examples of slaves given as gifts by their proprietors. In 1301 the lord of the town of Borriol in Valencia gave his mother a white slave of Muslim origin named Cozeys.⁶⁰ Slaves also appeared as part of dowries for young women of the elite groups.⁶¹ King Fernando and Queen Isabel made gifts of a number of captives enslaved following the conquest of Málaga in 1487, and in 1491 Fernando gave his aunt three slaves taken from a Muslim ship.⁶²

Slave owners had the option of donating their slaves to the church. In this, as in so many other aspects of slaveholding, masters acted from a variety of motives, and the outcome could be positive or negative for the slave.

Slaves who provided difficult to manage and whose reputations rendered them impossible to sell could be donated. Masters might want to make favorable provisions for their donated slaves. In the city of Murcia in 1772, a town councilor who had been cured at the Hospital of San Juan de Dios showed his gratitude for the cure by giving his slave Antonio Nicolás de la Santa Cruz to the hospital. He added a provision that seemed to show concern for the slave by making the donation conditional on the fact that the hospital would never sell the slave outside the area of Murcia. A diametrically opposed case occurred in 1763, when the Marquis of Corvera donated a slave with the proviso that he never be sold to anyone residing in Murcia or its jurisdiction.⁶³

Price: Age and Gender

Several factors influenced the price that a slave would fetch on the market. These included age, gender, ethnicity, skin color, health, training and skills, religion, and degree of acculturation. Conviction for a crime lowered the price of a slave. We have little evidence for prices in Islamic Spain and little more than sketchy evidence for Christian Iberia. For those reasons, prices in this section appear in qualitative and comparative terms, not in absolute figures.⁶⁴

In southern Spain in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, most sales took place when slaves were in their most productive years: in Granada between 11 and 40 years of age. For Seville, the most expensive slaves were women between 15 and 25, next came men between 12 and 22 to 25 years. Those below 11 and above 35 were cheaper still, and infants less than a year old and mature adults above 56 brought the lowest prices. In late sixteenth-century Huelva and in eighteenth-century Murcia, most sales of slaves, both men and women, took place when the slaves were between 16 and 30 years old.⁶⁵ In late sixteenth-century Córdoba and Lucena, slaves in their twenties fetched the highest prices, followed by those between ten and nineteen and by those in their thirties. Slaves below ten and above fifty brought the lowest prices.⁶⁶ A similar situation prevailed in the early seventeenth century on the island of Lanzarote, when 49 percent of the slaves were between sixteen and thirty when they were sold.⁶⁷ We see the same in Cádiz in the eighteenth century, when slaves of both sexes brought the highest prices when they were twelve to twenty-five.⁶⁸

Buyers in most cases sought to buy women more eagerly than men. In late sixteenth-century Salamanca, Córdoba, Jaén, and Lucena, women brought

higher prices than men in all age groups.⁶⁹ The same was true in early modern Ayamonte and on the island of Lanzarote in the early seventeenth century.⁷⁰ The same pattern emerged from the records of Cádiz in the eighteenth century, where women commanded higher prices than men.⁷¹ In Alicante in the late Middle Ages, by contrast, men fetched more than women as slaves. White slaves, usually of Islamic origin, commanded the highest prices, followed by Canarians, and then last by blacks.⁷²

Questions of “Race”

Scholars have only recently begun to wrestle with the problems of race and racial perceptions among medieval and early modern Muslims and Christians.⁷³ This effort is complicated, as modern Western concepts and misconceptions of race are anachronistic when applied to earlier periods. Certainly people in earlier periods recognized differences of skin color as well as cultural distinctions and categorized slaves accordingly. Religion and language, though, tended to be more important categories. We can see some indication of the value placed on slaves of different origins in both contemporary comments about them and the prices various groups commanded in the market.

Muslim slave owners had stereotypical views of slaves of different origins. Muḥammad al-Saqāṭī, a market inspector in Málaga in the late twelfth century and early thirteenth, commented on slave women, revealing his views on ethnicity, class, and gender. He wrote that Berber women were best to exhibit voluptuousness, Roman (i.e., European) women were best for care of money and the larder, Turkish women for producing valiant sons, Ethiopians for serving as wet-nurses, Meccans for singing, Medinans for elegance, and Iraqis for coquetry. He may have been echoing a slave dealer who proposed a course of upbringing to produce the ideal slave woman. One first should import a nine-year old Berber girl of good origin. She should then spend three years in Medina and another three in Mecca. After that she should be educated in Iraq and finally sold at twenty-five. Thus, for he suggested, her good origin would be united with virtues and skills acquired along the way, thus allowing her to be valued more than girls with beautiful eyes.⁷⁴

Slaves from many origins ended up in the Christian kingdoms of Iberia. In fifteenth-century Christian Mallorca, there were slaves from a variety of origins. Most of them were Muslims, either North Africans or the descendants of Muslims who lived on the island at the time of its conquest. There were

also others: Christian prisoners of war such as Sards and Genoese, Canarians, Greeks, people from the Balkans, Armenians, Tatars, Russians, Circassians, Turks, and people from sub-Saharan Africa.⁷⁵

In Seville in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, most slaves were of North African or sub-Saharan African origin. Others were more exotic and certainly fewer in numbers. There were some few American Indians, most of them from the Caribbean islands. One of these, named Juan, had been captured as a child in one of the first Spanish raids on the interior tribes of the island of Española, in this case the Higuey. A very small number of slaves from the Indian subcontinent reached Europe, brought by the Portuguese and then sold in Spain. Some Canarian slaves reached Seville, as we saw earlier. Despite the express order by Fernando and Isabel outlawing the trade, it took royal action, protests by church officials, and the work of lawyers hired by free Canarians to free the last of the Canarian slaves.⁷⁶

Geographical origins often determined prices for slaves. For Seville, the most expensive slaves were those of North African origin. Franco Silva suggested that this was due to “their exceptional physical resistance.”⁷⁷ That, in turn, could well be due to the fact that they had lived their lives in a region environmentally similar to that of southern Spain and shared in the common disease pool of the western Mediterranean, making them less prone to contract unaccustomed diseases. Black Africans and Canary Islanders fetched the next highest prices, and in both cases women were worth more than men, as they were destined to domestic service. American Indian slaves were the cheapest, for they often suffered and died from Old World diseases, and because they were subject to restrictions on their sale.⁷⁸

Andalusians and other Iberians in the fifteenth century and later tended to view people of sub-Saharan ancestry in complicated ways. On the one hand, they tended to lump all of them together as *negros*, or blacks, regardless of whether they had come directly from West Africa or had been born in North Africa or Iberia or the Atlantic islands. A cultural division led the Iberians to designate as *ladinos* those Africans who had acquired the ability to speak one of the peninsula’s Romance languages and as *bozales* those who had not. The term *ladino* apparently derived ultimately from *latino*, a term for a person of Iberian origin who had learned Latin following the Roman conquest. These terms, however, could also apply to any slave from North Africa, black or not—an imprecise conflation of culture and physical appearance. Those of mixed racial origins, in most cases the offspring of a white father and a black woman, usually a slave, were called *mulatos* or *de*

color de membrillo cocho (the color of cooked quince). The biological mixing that took place over generations complicated the clear designation of a person's ethnicity and caused convoluted attempts at precise definitions: "white tending to brown," "slightly mulatto," or "he is a mulatto and his father is a black."⁷⁹ As hard as the buyers and sellers and public officials tried for precision, it sometimes escaped them, as in the case of Beatriz, girl of twelve years, described at the time of her sale in Córdoba in 1522 as being as white as a mulatta and of Gypsy lineage.⁸⁰

In the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century, buyers in Jaén preferred sub-Saharan Africans, supplied by the Portuguese from their contacts with West Africa. White slaves, called *berberiscos* or people from Barbary, were mostly Muslims from North Africa. Owners in Jaén seem to have considered that they were less docile than the blacks and that they were far more likely to flee, because they had greater hopes of reaching their homeland. The aftermath of the revolt of the Moriscos, late in the sixteenth century, brought Granadan Moriscos to the market, as we saw earlier. In the seventeenth century, availability in Jaén changed again, this time to North Africans, especially after the revolt of Portugal in 1640 and its independence in 1668 constricted the trade from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe.⁸¹

White slaves, usually of Islamic origin, commanded the highest prices in Alicante in the late Middle Ages, followed by Canarians, and then last by blacks.⁸² Black women commanded lower prices than North African women as slaves in early sixteenth-century Málaga.⁸³ The same was true in late-medieval Barcelona, perhaps because the purchasers of potential concubines preferred white slaves.⁸⁴ Sixteenth-century Granadans categorized North African slaves by skin color. Their percentages in the sale documents are as follows:⁸⁵

white 48%
black 24%
unspecified 17%
mulatto 1%
membrillo 3% (quince)
loro 8% (olive)

For Málaga in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an elaborate vocabulary existed, reflecting the ethnic diversity and generations of biological mixing.⁸⁶

blanco (white)
negro (black)
moreno (dark)
moreno claro (somewhat dark)
membrillo (quince)
membrillo cocho (cooked quince)
membrillo cocho claro (light cooked quince)
membrillo cocho oscuro (dark cooked quince)
trigueño (wheat)
trigueño claro (light wheat)
trigueño oscuro (dark wheat)
rubio (blond)
rosa (pink or rosy)
pelinegro (with a black skin or with black hair)
buen color (good color)

For Murcia in the early eighteenth century, one modern historian provided the percentages shown in Table 1 (see next page) for the perceived skin color, ethnicity, or geographical origin of the slaves sold in the market.⁸⁷

Marked Slaves

Sale records and other documents in early modern Spain carefully described the slaves involved. These descriptions included the marks slaves might bear on their faces or bodies. Among these were the scars from wounds and small-pox or chicken pox.⁸⁸ The documents also recorded *hierros*—marks of the iron or brand marks. Modern commentators have mostly followed the documents and have not examined carefully the descriptions of the marks. It turns out that not all the marks were the product of hot iron burning the flesh, despite the common use of *hierro*. Aurelia Martín Casares has identified three distinct types. North African women often bore tattoos applied in their homelands to indicate tribal affiliation or to enhance beauty. The tattoos were on the forehead, between the eyebrows, or on the chin. They also appeared occasionally on other parts of the body. Spanish documents referred to them incorrectly as *hierros a la berberisca*, or North African brand marks. Sub-Saharan Africans often reached Iberia with cicatrices, scars left from shallow incisions, usually on the cheeks. They had acquired these marks in their natal societies as indica-

Table 1. Perceived Skin Color, Ethnicity, or Geographical Origin of Slaves Sold in the Market, Murcia, Early Eighteenth Century

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>blanco</i> (white)	2.5	8.9	11.4
<i>color claro</i> (light color).	-	1.2	1.2
<i>trigueño</i> (olive). 3.8	-	3.8	
<i>amulado</i> (black and white mixture)	1.2	-	1.2
<i>moro</i> (Moorish)	5	6.4	11.4
<i>moreno</i> dark	1.2	5	6.2
<i>berberisco</i> (Berber)	5	-	5
<i>membrillo cocho</i> (cooked quince)	15.4	5	20.4
<i>negro</i> (black)	8.9	2.5	11.4
unspecified	15.3	6.4	21.7

Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 72.

tions of the group to which they belonged. The fifteenth-century Italian traveler Alvise da Mosto reported on Senegambian women “who delight to work designs upon their flesh with the point of a needle, either on their breasts, arms, or necks. They appear like those designs of silk that are often made on handkerchiefs: they are made with fire, so that they never disappear.”⁸⁹ Such bodily decorations were distinct from the true brand marks inflicted on some slaves in Iberia.⁹⁰

Slave owners and public officials certainly branded some slaves, but it appears that it was usually unsuccessful fugitives who suffered the branding. Such marks obviously would diminish the value of the slave, and masters would have kept that in mind.⁹¹ A common marking for fugitives was a mark of an “s” on one cheek and an “i” on the other, signifying the Latin slogan *sine iure*, or outside the law. Often the marks were popularly interpreted to mean “s” and a straight-line symbol of a nail (*clavo* in Spanish), so that when combined they read as *esclavo*, Spanish for slave.⁹² Many modern scholars have followed the popular interpretation. Other brand marks included whole words indicating ownership.

Descriptions of slaves with marks appear in notarial documents from late seventeenth-century Jaén. From a sale document: “my own slave María Agustina of twenty years of age, branded (*herrada*) on the forehead, chin, and nose in the style of North Africa (*Ververia*).” From another sale document: “a slave that I have named Teresa, white in color from North Africa, without iron

or mark, and about twenty-six years old." From a power of attorney: "a slave named Juan Antonio, of about twenty-four years of age, with a good body, branded on the forehead and on both sides of the nose and with other brand marks on the cheeks. . . . He has been a fugitive." From a sale document: "a dark black slave named Manuel, nineteen years old, with a good body, and no marks or brands." From a sale document: "a dark black slave, with freckles, named Catalina, of about twenty years of age, with a mark on her right side."⁹³ For Huelva in the late sixteenth century, only two slaves with brand marks have left traces in the documents. They were both former fugitives and described as "almost white" and perhaps hard to distinguish from members of the free population.⁹⁴ Slaves with brand marks were still sold in eighteenth-century Murcia.⁹⁵

Fraud

Sellers often tried to pass off slaves as healthier or younger than they were. Buyers examined their prospective purchases carefully and insisted that the sales contracts specify that they could return the slaves for their money back if they discovered defects within a short period.

Muḥammad al-Saqāṭī, the market inspector we mentioned earlier in this chapter, reported on examples of fraud in slave sales in the treatise that he wrote on the management of the market. Slave merchants attempted to make their human merchandise more attractive with practices that varied from applications of cosmetics to more elaborate ruses. In his treatise, al-Saqāṭī included recipes that slave-dealers used to improve the chances for sales at high prices. These included coating the face and limbs of black slaves with violet oil and perfume. Hair could be darkened by using oil of myrtle and oil of fresh walnuts followed by a special wash. Tattoos could be lightened by a paste whose ingredients included rose roots, bitter almonds, and melon seeds kneaded into honey. Pock marks could be obscured and signs of leprosy hidden. Virginity could be restored, at least apparently. "For those women who have been deflowered, they use the core of bitter pomegranates and of gall nuts molded with cow bile which is applied to them and they become as they had been."⁹⁶ Al-Saqāṭī also related the account of a free Muslim woman who conspired with a slave dealer to pass her off as a Christian captive from northern Spain. The dealer found a buyer, and after the sale the woman revealed herself to be a free Muslim. She threatened to denounce the buyer, who could

have faced stiff penalties for holding a Muslim slave, and forced him to take her to Almería and to sell her in still another ruse, perhaps sharing the profits between them.⁹⁷

Similar fraudulent practices appeared on the Christian side as well. In the Crown of Aragon, the kidnapping of local free people, both Christian and Muslim and often children, and illegal raids on foreign Muslims caused concern to the royal officials. They insisted that sale and import documents include an *albaranum*, a guarantee that the slaves were not free victims of kidnapping and that dealers had paid the customs dues on imported slaves captured in legal raids.⁹⁸ The sale of free people could occur when heirs failed to acknowledge manumission by a slave owner's testament. In such cases, courts could declare the slave to be free. In 1508, for example, María, a black freed slave of 14 years of age, found herself sold by an official of Seville's cathedral, a colleague of her former master. She declared herself to be free, instituted a suit, and obtained confirmation of her freedom.⁹⁹

Some of the slaves traded in Iberia were re-exported from the peninsula. Before 1500, most went to Italy, for there was a lively trade between the ports of Iberia and those of Italy. After 1500 most went to the Atlantic islands or to the Indies. Despite the re-export trade, the majority remained in Iberia and were put to work, as we will see in the next chapters as we examine their lives and the tasks to which they were assigned.

CHAPTER 4

To Live as a Slave

Every slave is . . . obliged to obey. . . . Not only is a slave under obligations . . . to his master, but also to the wife and children of the latter.

—*Siete Partidas*, thirteenth century

The lives of slaves varied considerably, even though they lived under similar legal frameworks. Age and gender, physical appearance, language, and religion could alter the circumstances of their lives. The work they did and their skills or their ability to acquire them were crucial variables. In this chapter, we will first examine the legal conditions that slaves lived under, and then discuss how slaves actually lived their lives. We must search carefully for the voices of the slaves themselves, voices too often hidden, for the slaves were certainly not the ones writing the laws or, in most cases, producing the documents.

Slaves were not objects. They may have been “speaking tools” or “articulate implements” in the words of Aristotle, but they had hopes and desires and the will to attempt to achieve them. They could almost never attain what they might have hoped, for every system of slavery was by definition repressive. Nevertheless, they could manipulate the severely restricted opportunities and powers they possessed to achieve a better life for themselves and their children. Many slaves resisted the system to the extent they could, ranging on a scale from annoying the master in small matters to murdering him. Other slaves sought freedom, and many achieved it. Some fled from their masters and sought to live a free life or to return to their homelands. Many more became free through the process of emancipation. The work that slaves performed and

their search for freedom will occupy later chapters of this book. In the present chapter, we examine what can be known of the lives they lived as slaves.

Beginning to Live as a Slave

Enslaved people had to adapt to their new circumstances. For most slaves in Iberia over the centuries, this meant adjusting to the rules of the master, who exercised great authority over those who lived in that household. All were his dependents, part of a household including his wife, his children and perhaps other relatives, his free servants, and other employees.¹ Slaves differed from other dependents in the household, who could expect to lose or at least alter their ties of dependence over the course of time. Sons would grow up to become independent adults, and daughters would leave the household when they married or, in the case of Christian families, entered a convent. Christian wives might become widows and then run the household.² Free employees could depart and find work elsewhere. Slaves were different. They remained permanently barred from full membership in the family, yet, even if they resided outside the home, they could not leave the master's family unless they fled or their master freed them.³ Even after manumission, former slaves still had ties to the master and his family. Slaves, consequently, had to abide by the rules of the master. Slaves may have experienced a "social death," but they quickly began to understand the new circumstances forced on them and that they faced a host of challenges.

Language came first. It was the slaves who learned the masters' languages. Slaves were never more than a small percentage in the host societies of Iberia and, except for the speakers of Arabic, hardly influenced the languages of the majority. Muslims retained Arabic as slaves of Christians, and their close contact with Christian masters and their families may well be an important channel of the flow of Arabic words into the languages of the peninsula. Christians normally retained their Romance languages as slaves of the Muslims. Slavs and other Eastern Europeans early in the Middle Ages, and black Africans later, had to abandon their native languages as they learned a new one on their arrival in Iberia. The equivalent of a slave patois never developed in Islamic or Christian Iberia, though Slavs in al-Andalus were dubbed "the silent ones" for their lack of proficiency in Arabic, as we saw, and sub-Saharan Africans in Christian Spain were at times stigmatized for their manner of speaking.⁴

Slaves frequently had to adjust to new names assigned by their masters.

What is striking is that the practice of assigning names of varying degrees of insult, a common process in colonial North America,⁵ was not present after Roman times. In Christian Iberia, converted slaves received Christian names at the time of baptism, a solemn ceremony during which the priest would pronounce the baptized person's name in the presence of the witnesses and the congregation—all of which worked against the assignment of a lewd or degrading name. Also missing were diminutives, except for very small children. On the other hand, slaves often had only one name, even at a time when free people had a proper name and a surname. In the late Middle Ages, Muslim slaves in Christian Spain who did not convert usually retained their own names, only lightly Latinized. These included Hamete, Abrahen, Musa, Isa or Iza, Alí, Fátima, Haja, Xira, Bila, Saífa. Converts to Christianity got Christian names regardless of their origins. Often these were the name of the master for slave men and the name of the mistress for slave women. They could also be the names of monarchs, saints, or just common Christian names. Examples included Juan and Juana, María, Isabel, Fernando, Catalina, Jorge, Felipe, Magdalena, Alonso, and Leonor. The names of the three wise men of the New Testament could be found: Gaspar, Baltasar, and Melchior. Sometimes the new names retained some aspect of the slave's geographical or ethnic origin or physical appearance: Marroquí (a masculine name meaning Moroccan), Sahara or Zahara (a woman's name), Juan de Tripul (for Tripoli), Juan Prieto (dark), María Negra (black), and Pedro Canario (Canarian).⁶ Of a group of nine slaves purchased in Lisbon in 1589 for work in the mint of Segovia, eight had ordinary Christian names: Antonio, Hernando, Pedro, Diego, Felipe, Juan, Manuel, and another Juan. Only one, Constantino, had a name that was a bit out of the ordinary for Iberia.⁷ In early modern Ayamonte, the most popular names for slave men were Antonio, Francisco, Juan, Manuel, and Domingo; for women slaves the names were María, Isabel, Catalina, Margarita, Francisca, and Ana.⁸ In Portugal, sixteenth-century Évora witnessed similar patterns of the naming of slaves.⁹

Slaves usually dressed in the worn and discarded clothes of their masters, who apparently spent little money to clothe their slaves. In the early fifteenth century, when Pope Benedict XIII (Pedro Martínez de Luna) was building the convent of San Pedro Mártir in the Aragonese town of Calatayud, his slaves suffered from the cold when winter approached. His local manager had to ask the monks of the convent for money to buy some cloth to dress the slaves, and within a few days, the manager bought each of them woolen undershirts and linen for shirts and breeches.¹⁰ There seem to have been few efforts to force

slaves to dress distinctively. At times, however, elite slave owners provided uniforms for their slaves.¹¹ But as for sumptuary laws and dress codes, we have only the examples from the island of Mallorca, where in 1370 non-Christian captives were forced to dress exclusively in white clothing. In 1384 Mallorcan authorities prohibited freed slave women and the daughters of slaves from wearing costly garments. In 1433 slaves, *setmaneras* (weekly wage workers), and prostitutes on Mallorca could only wear common blue clothes.¹²

After a shorter or longer period of adjustment and accommodation, made easier by the fact that the majority of the slaves lived in their owners' households, slaves interacted with and learned from a wider circle of free people. The legal framework under which they lived, the circumstances of their work, their health, and their religious connections projected them into widening circles of their host societies.

Legal Conditions of Slaves

The slaves of Iberia, despite their ethnic and religious variety and different occupations, still lived under a surprisingly similar set of legal rules, just as slaves did elsewhere in Mediterranean. Legislators produced laws governing the lives of slaves that they intended to be clear, precise, and all-encompassing. Muslim rules relied on the Qur'an, the recorded statements of Muḥammad (the *ḥādīth*), and later commentaries by Muslim jurists. Christian laws, even in the early Middle Ages, bore the indelible stamp of Roman practice and, by the later Middle Ages, came to be influenced by the widespread revival of Roman law. Laws, obviously, only tell part of the story of the past. They were never enforced uniformly, and their creators at times included provisions for hypothetical situations that seldom if ever arose in real life. Contemporary practice and social norms had their own influence, even though they produced less documentation.

Roman lawmakers considered a slave to be a *res*, a thing, the chattel of the owner, with no legal recognition or independent status. The slave was totally dependent on the owner. The head of a Roman household, the *pater familias*, exercised wide powers over his dependents, including his wife, children, servants, and slaves. Before the fourth century, the master had the right of life and death over his slave. Roman laws required masters to provide their slaves with adequate food, clothing, and shelter.¹³ The laws of the Visigothic kingdom reveal a heavy Roman influence, even though blended with Germanic customs. Slaves of the Visigoths lacked most legal rights. They could

not initiate legal actions; their testimony in most cases was invalid without their masters' corroboration; and, unlike free people, they could be tortured.¹⁴

Slaves of the Muslims had no legal rights in theory, despite the traditional insistence on kind treatment. The Qur'ān stated that slaves should be treated well, as did a *ḥādīth* attributed to Muḥammad. Islam, as many observers have reported, was to be ideally a community of believers, all of whom were held to be equal. Slaves of Muslims formed part of the owner's household and family, and that usually worked in their favor. Slaves, nonetheless, found themselves excluded from true and complete participation, as did women and aliens. Muslims considered their slaves to be inferior legally, as well as morally and physically. They could be set to any task the master wished, and their labor could be hired out. They could neither own nor transmit property. Their evidence was seldom valid in court. A slave could not bring suit against a master who mistreated him, but the authorities could punish masters who denied their slaves the exercise of their religious rights, overworked them, or denied them sufficient rest. Owners could sell or bequeath them. Masters could punish their own slaves or kill them without fear of retribution, even though such murders were theoretically illegal. A free Muslim who killed another's slave only had to compensate the slave's master at the prevailing market price. For certain crimes—unlawful sexual intercourse and drunkenness, among others—a slave of the Muslims was not punished as harshly as a free man could be. This was an unusual provision for any slave system.¹⁵ In practice, Muslim masters often disregarded religion and law, just as other slave owners did in other societies. Although this could work to the slave's disadvantage, it also could be beneficial. The inclination of the master, to good or evil, was all-important and was a characteristic of every slave system. Benevolent masters could allow their slaves to keep property and pass it to their children.

In the Christian kingdoms of Iberia, laws followed Roman precedents, though with local variations. The legal status of the slaves in the thirteenth-century Crown of Aragon was very limited, but they could appear in court as plaintiffs and defendants in special circumstances. Those who were not ransomed and those who were unable to purchase their freedom remained as slaves. They were subject to the domestic jurisdiction of their owners. Those accused of serious crimes, however, were judged in the royal courts, as were cases of disputed servile status. By the fourteenth century, localities established strict regulations for slaves, who were segregated from the general population.¹⁶

Slaves were considered to be totally dependent on their masters, who exercised all the traditional rights over them. With no independent legal rights,

slaves could not serve as witnesses in court, could not testify against their masters, and could not initiate legal action on their own. If slaves were injured, it was the master who was compensated. At the same time, masters were responsible for any criminal actions of their slaves. This led a group of masters to organize a mutual pact to insure themselves against the possible consequences of any crimes their slaves might commit. Masters had the right to the produce of their slaves' labor, whether the slaves worked directly for the master or outside the home for other people. Following long-established precedent, masters could dispose of their slaves by sale, by testament, and by gift. Jewish and Muslim masters could not hold Christian slaves in the Crown of Aragon. Slaves owned by Jewish masters could gain their freedom by converting to Christianity. Slaves could be used as pledges for debt. With the growth of slavery in the later Middle Ages, officials of Barcelona elaborated increasingly complex rules governing slaves and slaveholding.¹⁷

Slaves in late medieval Mallorca lived under a harsh regimen, a product of the large concentration of slaves there. They could not bear arms, they could not assemble in groups, they could not move about freely and were prohibited from going to the seashore and the port, they were subject to a curfew, and their masters had to lock them up each night. Their activities were watched by a special official, the *mestre de guaita*, whose main job was to command the coast guard. As Muslim slaves were suspected of a propensity to aid invaders, the *mestre de guaita* had wide powers over them, extending to such things as regulating gaming and prostitution.¹⁸

Many masters throughout the peninsula treated their slaves well, permitted them to form families, and manumitted some of them. Some bought masses for the souls of their deceased slaves.¹⁹ Nonetheless, not all members of the elite wanted to own slaves. In 1539, for example, Pero Hernández de Portillo of Valladolid established an entail (*mayorazgo*) and in so doing expressly prohibited his heirs from owning any slaves at all.²⁰

Gender Division

There was a clear gender division in the history of slavery.²¹ Women had different lives as slaves from men. Iberian slave owners, whether Roman or Visigothic, Muslim or Christian, whether in ancient, medieval, or early modern times, preferred women as their slaves. Women were in the majority in almost every time and place where records remain to count the slaves. For sale

records in Christian Spain, available from the late Middle Ages and after, we can see the pattern in numerous locales. In the Catalan town of Vic in the first five years of the fifteenth century, sale records indicate 25 women and 14 men.²² For Manresa, also in Catalonia and in the same period, documents reveal 17 women and 10 men.²³ The large inland capital, Zaragoza, seems to have had few slaves in the fifteenth century, but women predominated in the sales documents, 17 to 10 men.²⁴ In late sixteenth-century Huelva, there was a rough balance between men and women, with the latter accounting for 54.2 percent of the population of slaves.²⁵ For seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Málaga, women accounted for 66.1 percent and men for 33.9 percent of the slaves.²⁶ Among the slaves in Jaén in the last third of the sixteenth century, 135 men and 150 women left traces in the documents.²⁷

In only a few places and times were there more men than women in the slave sales. In late medieval Alicante and its surrounding area, men predominated. This was unlike Seville or Granada, or even neighboring Alcoi, where women slaves far outnumbered men slaves. There was likely a greater need for agricultural labor in Alicante than in the large Andalusian cities or in Alcoi, already a center of cloth production.²⁸ In late medieval Barcelona and Mallorca, men were more common as slaves than women.²⁹ For Córdoba in the late sixteenth century, the sales documents revealed 420 men and 377 women.³⁰ For nearby Lucena in the same period, by contrast, women accounted for 57 percent of slave sales and men for 43 percent.³¹ In the Canary Islands, colonial areas in the early modern era, men slaves held an edge in numbers. The ratio of men to women on the island of Gran Canaria in the sixteenth century reveals a male predominance: 62 percent to 38 percent.³² A similar ratio existed for the island of Lanzarote in the early seventeenth century, when the ratio was 64.8 percent men to 35.0 percent women.³³ For eighteenth-century Murcia, men accounted for 57 percent of the sales.³⁴

At almost every time for which we have price records, women commanded higher prices than men, as we saw in the previous chapter. Women worked as domestic slaves in the home and also as helpers in artisan shops and in agriculture and truck gardening. Men worked in all these areas as well, but there were differences for women, mostly related to sex and sexuality.

Concubinage

With such wide powers over their slaves, masters often forced them into sexual relations. The relations of power were obviously unequal, with slaves almost

powerless and masters with almost limitless powers of coercion, and the relations were most often forced. Women tended to be sexually exploited more often than men, though men did not escape totally. Nonetheless, the consequences for women were very different: pregnancy, childbirth, and child rearing. Masters sometimes bought women or girls solely for sexual purposes, but sex seems to have been a secondary consequence and not the primary motivation in most purchases.³⁵

Roman masters controlled more than the labor of their slaves. Their widespread powers included sexual access to their slaves and control of the slaves' reproductive functions. Some Romans, according to their sexual preferences, bought boys and men or girls and women to serve as sexual partners. Other Romans bought slaves and employed them as prostitutes, and prostitution was the eventual lot of many female infants exposed by their parents and raised by those who found them.³⁶

In Islamic Spain, marriage and concubinage were intertwined with slavery in a complicated pattern, for which Islam provided precise rules. According to tradition, a free Muslim man could marry as many as four legal wives. He could maintain as many slave mistresses as he could afford. In practice, however, most Muslims could only afford to have one wife. Only the wealthiest could support large harems. Muslims often married slave wives, whom they first had to free. If the prospective bride was a slave of another master, the suitor had to obtain her master's permission. If a master wished to marry one of his own slaves, he first had to manumit her and then seek her permission, which she could give then as a free woman. Male slaves in Islam could marry free or slave women, and, if they married another slave, their children would be slaves.³⁷ Before marriage, though, such a slave had to secure his own master's permission and, if his intended wife were a slave, the permission of her master. He also had to offer a dowry from his own earnings. The dowry would belong to the wife, if she were a free woman, or to the wife's master, if she were a slave. When a Muslim bought a new slave woman to be his mistress, he was legally obligated to postpone sexual relations with her until she had experienced one menstruation. This provision allowed the master to know that he was the father of any child she produced. For by producing a child, particularly a male child, the concubine gained enhanced standing. Thereafter, she was regarded as an *umm walad*, or slave mother. No longer could she be sold, although she still could be forced to marry another. On her master's death, if he had not already freed her, she became free. The children such a couple produced were fully free and equal

in law to the master's legitimate children, based on the Muslim custom that no man could have his own child as a slave.³⁸

Muslim men kept their female dependents isolated from the world, segregated in a special portion of the house known as the harem. There the women could entertain their own guests under careful chaperonage, but they could venture out only for specific purposes.³⁹ Some scholars have noted a dichotomy in the position of women in al-Andalus. On the one hand, the women of the family—slave and non-slave—were sequestered in the home, shielded from the temptations of life in the city, and often excluded from education and cultural life. On the other hand, some slave women were well educated, sophisticated, and witty, enabling them to share amusements and intellectual interests with the male members of the Muslim elite. These attitudes permeated the whole Muslim world. Some of the most famous and sought-after slave women were trained in Medina, where special schools existed to turn favored slaves into musicians and dancers. Specially-educated slave women were much in demand as entertainers regardless of where they were trained, as noted in a previous chapter.⁴⁰ Slave women could end up as sex objects in the harem system, whose guards could be eunuch slaves. Female slaves could be forced to act as prostitutes, despite religious injunctions to the contrary.

After the early eleventh century, black women predominated as domestics and concubines in al-Andalus.⁴¹ The Spanish Muslim writer al-Sharīshī in the early thirteenth century praised the qualities of the slave women of Ghana. "God has endowed the slave girls there with laudable qualities, both physical and moral, more than can be desired, their bodies are smooth, their black skins are lustrous, their eyes are beautiful, their noses well shaped, their teeth white, and they smell fragrant."⁴²

On occasion, some Christian women captives in late medieval Muslim Granada used their sexuality and childbearing abilities to reach high levels. Isabel de Solís, captured in the town of Cieza, rose to be the wife of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī, ruler of Granada. María la Baldera became the concubine of a ship captain from Guadix. Catalina de Linares became the concubine of the brother of the king of Granada and had two children by him.⁴³

To turn to Christian Spain, masters and their women slaves commonly had sexual relations and, just as commonly, the women produced children. Owners could and did make use of the sexuality and reproductive capacities of their slaves, though they seemed not to have made a clear policy of systematically exploiting their slaves to produce more slaves.⁴⁴ The children born to slave women were the slaves of the women's owners. These children

were called *bords de la casa* in late medieval Mallorca. The relations between the father and the children could vary from tenderness to disdain. They could treat them well and leave them legacies, sometimes to the disgust of the legitimate heirs, or they could sell them off. *Bords de la terra* were those born to slave women and a free father from outside the household. The fathers often purchased their illegitimate offspring, but far less often the mothers. Even members of the clergy were involved. In 1431 the priest Jordi Sabet had a child by the slave woman Lucía, owned by Andreu Sunyer. Officials of the diocese gave Sabet an ultimatum to purchase the child within two months.⁴⁵ The same pattern continued in early modern Mallorca, and masters habitually had children with their women slaves. The children thus produced, called *bords de cullita*, were often sold, but not always. In the early seventeenth century, Pere Andreu kept his own son, Antoni, whom he had produced with his woman slave Catalina. He freed Catalina in 1606 and in his will provided that, when he died, she should sell his possessions and purchase the freedom of their son from his heirs.⁴⁶

Many slave women in late medieval Seville were concubines of their Christian masters. If they became pregnant, that did not change their status or that of the child they bore. Children followed the status of the mother, and the father's status made no difference. If slave women became pregnant by someone other than the master, the father had no rights over the child and could only acquire any rights by purchasing the child and perhaps the mother as well.⁴⁷ Two cases from early sixteenth-century Seville reveal concubinage. In his will written in 1506, Batista Cataño, a merchant from Genoa, confessed that his twenty-year-old slave María had been his concubine "and that she is pregnant by me, and therefore I free her." He went on to say that the child she bore was to be raised to the age of ten in Seville and then sent to Genoa to be raised by Cataño's mother at his expense. "If the child is a girl, she should be raised until she completes fourteen years of age and then she should be married and given 400 pounds in Genoese money, equivalent to 50,000 maravedís (the price of five average slaves in Seville), and if she wishes to become a nun, the money is to go to her entry fee." If it were to be a boy, Cataño's mother was to raise him to the age of eighteen, maintaining him at Cataño's expense, and then he was to be given the 400 Genoese pounds. In another case, Cristóbal Salvago in his will of 1506 freed the four children of his black slave Marina and bequeathed them each a bed and 8,000 maravedís when they reached sixteen years of age. He also freed his Canarian slave of twenty years, Isabel. She was pregnant, and he enjoined his wife to raise the child, if a boy, until twelve and

to give him 12,000 maravedís. If the child turned out to be a girl, she was to be raised to the age of fifteen.⁴⁸

Other cases that appear in baptismal records suggest concubinage. In Cartagena in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the baptismal records list the father as unknown for fully 85 percent of all children of slave mothers. In 1692 a silversmith named Juan Salas sponsored the baptism of Fátima, a North African slave of thirteen years. Two years later Salas was back, sponsoring the baptism of a slave named Juan, son of the slave Fátima and an unacknowledged father. A year and a half later, he was present when another son of Fátima and an unknown father received baptism. An even more suggestive series of baptisms involved the pharmacist Francisco Corella and the slave Aysa, who was baptized in 1681 at the age of seventeen. Over the next eleven years, Aysa produced four children of supposedly unknown fathers and a final child, whose father was listed as Guillermo de Prado.⁴⁹ Several interpretations are possible. One would be that Aysa was producing children without the knowledge of the druggist. Another possible assumption would be that she was his mistress, and the listing of a known father for her last child could suggest that Corella was prostituting her.

There were also clear examples of forced sex. In the early sixteenth century, María, a slave of Muslim origin converted to Christianity in the Canary Islands, testified against a physician, Francisco Jiménez. She said that years before, when she was still a young girl and before her breasts had developed, the doctor had carnal knowledge of her. Despite her protests, he forced her down, placed a pillow over her face, raped her, and destroyed her virginity.⁵⁰

It seems clear from several locales over several centuries that masters forced their slaves into prostitution. In Mallorca, royal and church officials issued rules prohibiting slave women from being used as prostitutes. The fact that these regulations had to be repeated throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suggests that they had little effect.⁵¹ In the Catalan town of Igualada, hotel keepers could not hold captives or slaves, because the town officials feared that such inns would become houses of prostitution. When in 1543 an innkeeper bought a twenty-five-year old black woman from Portugal, the municipal authorities forced him to sell her to a local shoemaker, who later sold her in Barcelona to an innkeeper.⁵² In the Canaries, some women slaves were forced to act as prostitutes.⁵³

The reproductive and maternal functions of women slaves caused them to be used at times as wet nurses. Childbearing was fraught with dangers, and on the death or during illnesses of free mothers, their husbands often employed

wet nurses or, in cases documented in late medieval Barcelona, purchased women slaves to serve the same function.⁵⁴

Homosexuality was a high crime in Christian Europe. Forced to be clandestine, it left little trace in the records. Perhaps masters had sexual relations with their male slaves. One case shows a slave acting on his own, Hassan Danatolia, a slave in Valencia in the 1620s who worked as a knight's coachman and secretly organized homosexual parties until the Inquisition arrested him.⁵⁵

Family and Marriage

Slaves had to secure permission from their owners to marry, and many owners were reluctant to give it. In the case of a woman, they would lose sexual access to her and control over her offspring. They might even lose the woman entirely, for with pre-modern medical care, women often died giving birth. Married slaves lost market value, and marriage implied a step closer to manumission.

Visigothic masters had much to say about the marriages of their slaves, who had to obtain prior permission from their owners. Such marriages were prohibited without the master's permission, and children born to a slave couple belonging to different masters were to be divided equally between the masters, with a monetary payment compensating for an odd number of offspring. Marriages between slave and free required the couple to secure the master's permission.⁵⁶

Slaves of Muslim masters could marry, if they obtained the master's permission. In the Mālikī school of legal interpretation used in Spain, Muslim slaves were permitted four wives, the same as free Muslims. In practice, though, such a number would be highly unusual, as would slave marriages in general. Slaves who wished to marry were expected to be in a strong enough economic situation to support a wife and family, and that would restrict their numbers to the slaves of rich households or to slaves who had received permission to operate independently and had been able to amass a certain level of capital.⁵⁷

Slave marriages remained relatively rare throughout the late Middle Ages and early modern period in Christian Iberia. Among the few complete families were Muslims who had been captured in war. Slaves who were able to marry still faced steep difficulties. If they belonged to different masters, they could be separated.⁵⁸ Priests and bishops often aided slaves to marry, and the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century endorsed and supported marriages for

slaves. Thereafter, the church and its officials aided slaves who wished to marry as long as the slaves fulfilled a set of requirements that were the same as for the marriages of free people. Both parties had to be baptized and they could not be closely related. They must not have promised marriage to anyone else or have sworn vows of chastity.⁵⁹ But slaves still faced obstacles from their owners. In sixteenth-century Granada, a master named Luis de Jódar attempted to take his woman slave out of town when she tried to marry. He was hauled into court, where a witness stated that he “saw three men and a woman and among them was Luis de Jódar and he was treating his slave badly, calling her a bitch who had robbed olive oil and hidden it and they know it, and the others said, ‘Leave her alone, your grace, and don’t beat her any more. Do you want to lose 100 ducats or more?’ He stopped beating her.”⁶⁰

Baptismal records provide an imprecise guide to marriage patterns for slaves, as we saw in the records from Cartagena. In Córdoba in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, for example, 326 slave children were baptized. Of these, only 42 had known, or at least named, fathers, and it is not clear how many of the 42 fathers were married to the mothers of the children.⁶¹

For slaves who did succeed in marrying, the ceremony was often a step toward manumission. Free men who married slave women often purchased the freedom of their spouses. For those who remained slaves, the circle of friends and relatives widened and consequently expanded the group of those who might help with securing freedom. We will see more of this in Chapter 6.

Religion

Religion could provide either a measure of solace for those who retained their natal religion or an avenue toward assimilation for those slaves who converted. Conversion to the dominant religion was a necessary stage on a slave’s path to manumission.

Slaves participated in the official Roman religious cult and in other cults devoted to the host of divinities in the Roman world. Roman slaves often belonged to *collegia*, or fraternal associations, for spiritual benefits and to provide for funeral rites and burial. Both men and women created and joined such associations, and the women, at least, tended to join groups related to their occupations. The divinities they worshipped included a wide range: native Hispanic cults and foreign gods of Rome, Greece, or the Middle East. The cults had free members as well as slaves; slaves tended to adhere to the cults

that promised life after death. Within the cults, former slaves of Greek origin tended to dominate positions of leadership. With the advent of Christianity, many slaves, as well as their owners, became Christian.⁶²

The early church did not oppose slavery, but it did impose certain restraints on slave owners and did secure some improved conditions for the slaves. The church and individual clerics owned large numbers of slaves. Although it encouraged manumission for the slaves of laymen, it kept a close hold on its own. Church slaves were so common that one Visigothic church council even decreed that a parish church had to own at least ten slaves or it could not be assigned a priest. It was difficult for the nonfree to become ordained priests or enter monasteries, but in the Third Council of Toledo in 589, the churchmen at the behest of King Reccared ordered that unfree clerics could not be removed from the church.⁶³ After 633 Visigothic church slaves could become deacons or priests, if they were deemed suitable and manumitted before their ordination. By the late seventh century, church slaves could be ordained as low-ranking rural clergy, even though they remained slaves. Slaves were generally prohibited from becoming monks. In Isidore of Seville's monastic rule, nevertheless, both slave and free were to be admitted. In Galicia there were unusual monasteries, many of whose members were slaves and in which slaves could become abbots. Slaves and freedmen of the church were under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts.⁶⁴

Much later in the Middle Ages, after Valencia's definitive reconquest in the thirteenth century, rulers made vigorous efforts to bring the kingdom fully into the Christian orbit of the Crown of Aragon. One important component of the process was the conversion of the Muslims to Christianity. The Crown sponsored the missionary activities of the Dominicans. For a time following the conquests of Mallorca and Valencia, Muslim slaves could attain freedom by accepting baptism. As we have seen before, the accepted position from late Roman times onward was that baptism did not automatically bring enfranchisement. In the Mallorcan and Valencian contexts, accusations arose that Muslims were converting only to find a way out of slavery. Clerics tried to determine that a potential convert sought baptism from truly religious motives and not from unworthy aims, such as to achieve pecuniary gain or to escape from slavery. There were also suspicions that masters were deliberately prohibiting their slaves from accepting baptism and thus from receiving the consequent benefits of freedom. These were similar to accusations made against slave masters in the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and in early fourteenth-century Sicily. For a time the Valencian law codes allowed the master to decide

whether the slave should be allowed to accept conversion. Those slaves who converted with their master's permission were freed. Those who converted without his permission had to remain as slaves. King Jaume later decreed: "to this law the Lord King amends: that in whatever way he be baptized, [even] with the will of the lord, that he remains at all times the captive or the slave of his lord, as long as the lord expressly does not want to free him."⁶⁵ Similar interpretations persisted in later periods.

The church encouraged owners to be interested in the material and spiritual lives of their slaves and told them that they had a moral obligation to have their slaves baptized. Not all of them did so. After 1626, shortly after the expulsion of the Moriscos, when all Spain was supposedly Christian, a new law required owners to have their slaves baptized, adding a legal imperative. This was necessary, because the expulsion order had contained loopholes allowing owners to retain Muslim slaves and not force them into exile.⁶⁶ African blacks, Asians, and Amerindians entering the lands of the Crown of Castile were required to be baptized, and some were even baptized again, if it could not be ascertained if they had been baptized before. Those in the latter category were baptized *in condicione*, a special canonical category for those whose religious status was unclear.⁶⁷

Christians in Andalusia and particularly Seville considered Muslim and Morisco slaves to be recalcitrant, hostile, and liable to run away. They also suspected that the Moriscos continued to practice Islam in a clandestine fashion. African slaves from south of the Sahara had a much better reputation. Most converted to Christianity either before or soon after they reached Spain. Those who had come from pagan areas and who had not formerly been Muslim usually became faithful Christians, as did their offspring.⁶⁸ The municipal authorities in Andalusia held the masters responsible for having their slaves participate in Christian ceremonies. Masters and their white friends acted as godparents for the children of slaves, and black slaves were buried in Christian cemeteries and at times even in family vaults in the churches. Their religious devotion and active participation in the religious life and festivals increased their acceptance.⁶⁹ This enabled them to become acculturated more easily and to receive generally better treatment. It did not mean that they commanded higher prices at the time of sale, for Muslims and converted Muslims often possessed more valuable or immediately useful skills than the sub-Saharanans had.

By the mid-fifteenth century in Seville, a special city official (called the *mayoral*) settled problems involving his fellow blacks, including relations with their masters and the judiciary. By 1475 the African and mixed-race population,

both slave and free, was large enough for the monarchs Fernando and Isabel to make the *mayoral* a royal official. The first appointee was Juan de Valladolid, who was commonly called “the Negro count.” The street in present-day Seville named “Conde Negro” recalls his tenure, but the office seems not to have outlived its first incumbent and disappeared early in the sixteenth century.⁷⁰

San Bernardo was one of the most prominent of Seville’s parishes where blacks and mulattos lived. In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, local church authorities set up the Hospital of Our Lady and a religious brotherhood, called the *cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*, to serve the African and mixed-race people of the parish. In the late sixteenth century the black and mulatto community in Triana, across the Guadalquivir River from Seville, established the confraternity of Nuestra Señora del Rosario. About the same time, blacks and mulattos in Seville’s parish of San Ildefonso, led by a slave of the duke of Medinaceli, founded the Cofradía de la Presentación, informally known as the *hermandad de los mulatos*. Confraternities played important roles in dispensing charity to the poor and sick, offering religious fellowship, and providing decent burials for the dead and sustenance for widows. These brotherhoods have had a long existence, some lasting into the twenty-first century and having long outlived their segregated origins.⁷¹

Other Spanish cities also had religious brotherhoods of Spaniards of African origin. Barcelona had a brotherhood that was especially connected with free blacks, founded in 1455 and called Sant Llorenç i Sant Amador dels Captius.⁷² In the late fifteenth century, black slaves and freedmen in Valencia established a religious brotherhood, that of Nuestra Señora de Gracia. The members of the brotherhood held their meetings in a chapter house they owned. The “Casa dels Negres,” as it was popularly known, became a focal point for the religious and social needs of the local population of African origin. Besides the religious purposes that it shared with other brotherhoods, the organization provided a shelter for abused slaves, supported them in litigation, and helped to facilitate manumissions.⁷³

Sixteenth-century Granada had two brotherhoods for people of African descent: in the church of San Justo y Pastor there was the brotherhood of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación y Paciencia de Cristo and in the church of Santa Escolástica the *cofradía* of San Benito de Palermo. San Benedetto (Benedict or Benito in Castilian) de Palermo was a Sicilian saint whose parents were black slaves.⁷⁴ In Jaén, slaves and freed people of African origin founded the *cofradía* of Nuestra Señora de los Reyes in 1600. In the early years they

organized their main celebrations on the Epiphany, January 6, called in Spanish “el Día de los Reyes,” for the three wise kings who brought gifts to the Christ child. This was quite appropriate, for by that time tradition held that one of the three kings was black and represented Africa. The brotherhood quickly attracted followers and money to buy images. In 1627 Cristóbal de Porras, a black Franciscan charged by his order to establish a brotherhood of blacks and mulattos, arrived in Jaén. He succeeded in creating a merged organization, the *cofradía* of Nuestra Señora de los Reyes y San Benedicto de Palermo, which lasted into the nineteenth century.⁷⁵

In early modern Málaga, a brotherhood of Misericordia existed to support the spiritual and social needs of “blacks, mulattos, and North African slaves” and lasted to the late eighteenth century.⁷⁶ We can see glimpses of the lives of several slaves in the legal document that the members of the brotherhood prepared when they negotiated the purchase of a chapel for their own use in the church of the Hospital of Santa Ana in 1610.

May all know who see this power of attorney that we, Criptobal Hurtado, slave of Hernando de Gálves, and I, Domingo de Caseres, slave of doña Catalina de Belasco y Córdoba, chief brothers of the brotherhood of Misericordia of this city of Málaga, sited in the hospital of our lady Santa Ana, and I, Alonso Goitise, slave of Judias, and Juan de Miranda Moreno Denostio, slave of Juan de Torres, and I, Francisco Zorriegue, slave of Luis Delgado, and I, Francisco de Baesa, slave of Diego de Baesa, and I, Juan J. de Arebalo, slave of the widow of Pinedo, and I, Juan Mexias and Alonso Manuel, free men, brothers of the said brotherhood, for ourselves and in the name of the other brothers who now are and who will be later, on behalf of whom we temporarily lend our legal voice, we say that as the said brotherhood has negotiated with the said hospital to purchase a chapel which is in its church, next to the main altar, and to bring about the sale of it and buy it, we have determined to give our power of attorney to Francisco Ruiz, of this city.⁷⁷

Cádiz had a short-lived religious brotherhood in the seventeenth century. Called the *cofradía* of Our Lady of the Rosary, it owed its foundations to a group of African slaves and ex-slaves whom Portuguese Dominicans had converted to Christianity prior to their arrival in Cádiz. Another brotherhood serving the sizeable population of black slaves and free people of color

flourished in Cádiz in the eighteenth century. It bore the complicated name of the *cofradía* of Nuestra Señora de la Salud, San Benedicto de Palermo, and Santa Ifigenia.⁷⁸

Black slaves and freed people also formed religious brotherhoods in the Canaries and indeed in the Spanish colonies in the Americas. On the island of Grand Canary, two brotherhoods were dedicated to the Virgen del Rosario and another to the Espíritu Santo.⁷⁹ In Portugal, as well, African slaves and freed people formed religious brotherhoods.⁸⁰

The sub-Saharan Africans were not, of course, the only groups to have their own religious brotherhoods. In late medieval Mallorca, for example, various Christian slaves, including Russians, Greeks, Albanians, and Circassians, joined Christians of African descent to form confraternities. In 1460 a confraternity founded much earlier by freed Greek slaves was transferred to a group of Circassian ex-slaves.⁸¹

The treatment afforded to black slaves in Portugal had a number of repressive aspects, but blacks received treatment that was somewhat better than that accorded Muslim slaves. Throughout the period there were actually two slave systems in Portugal: one of the blacks and the other, longer standing, of Muslims. The latter were treated more harshly than the blacks for two significant reasons. First, they were considered political enemies. Indeed, most of them were prisoners of war or captives from piracy at sea or land raids in Morocco. They were religiously different as well, separated by a barrier of hostility from Portuguese Christian society. Most blacks became Christians and took part in Portuguese religious brotherhoods and confraternities in Lisbon and other smaller cities throughout the country. One brotherhood dating from the mid-fifteenth century had black and white members.⁸² Some blacks, too, were trained for and admitted into holy orders, but such black clerics could only exercise their offices back in their homelands. Others entered Portuguese religious orders as lay brothers.⁸³

Participation in the religious brotherhoods allowed the blacks to retain at least some of their ancestral customs, even as they assimilated into their new host culture. Municipal authorities in Seville and elsewhere were concerned over the confraternities' celebrations, which often ended in great dances to the rhythm of drums and tambourines. In Granada, too, black Africans maintained the dances they brought from home. One of the dances, the *zarabanda*, became a regular part of the parades on the holiday of Corpus Christi.⁸⁴ The dances of African blacks entered the festive life of Portuguese cities even earlier. The first record dates from 1451, when Africans danced as part of the civic

celebrations in Lisbon at the time of a royal betrothal.⁸⁵ Special celebrations of the mainly black confraternities continued in Portugal throughout the early modern period.⁸⁶

Health and Death

Slaves represented capital to their masters, and for that reason, among others, it was to their advantage to have their slaves remain healthy. In all periods, there are examples of medical care provided to slaves. Nonetheless, pre-modern health care was an inexact science. For early modern Seville, an estimated 10 to 15 percent of the slaves there could not be employed because of their age, illnesses, or disabilities. Many of them ended up in the hospital in the vicinity of the church of Santa Catalina, colloquially known as the “hospital of the buboes.” Others received assistance and charity elsewhere, or were sold at low prices. The documents provide a long list of ailments. Some were common and generic diseases, including cough and fever, whereas some were more specific: consumption, buboes, leprosy, smallpox, epilepsy, fever, ulcers, scrofula, ringworm, and venereal problems. Others suffered from physical disabilities; it is sometimes difficult to determine from the documents whether the problems originated in birth defects, disease, accident, or physical mistreatment. These included blindness, crossed eyes, lacking a hand, lameness, hunched back, bed wetting, and missing teeth.⁸⁷

An episode in 1589–90 reveals the health problems that recently arrived African slaves faced in Europe. Hanz Belta, a German who was in charge of the royal mint in Segovia, sought slaves to work in the mint. Because Segovia, as a northern city, was far from the main concentrations of slaves in the Spanish kingdoms, and because Portugal had less than ten years before come under the control of Felipe II, Belta decided to go to Lisbon to purchase the slaves. He bought nine sub-Saharan Africans from various merchants in Lisbon during November and December of 1589 and brought them back to Segovia in late January of the following year. They had sad fates. Five of them fell ill and died, while another fled. The documents do not record the diseases they suffered, but we can speculate that these slaves, recently arrived from Africa, were unused to the cold of Iberia, even though Belta purchased clothes for them in Lisbon. The winter weather, the unaccustomed food, and the minor diseases of Europe could have been enough to bring on their illnesses and deaths.⁸⁸

Crime and Punishment

Slaves from Roman times onward shared with their masters the opinion that slavery was degrading, with heightened attitudes because of their personal experience. Many expressed their discontent by sabotage, pilferage, and work slowdowns. Antisocial behavior included theft, drunkenness, and flight. Sometimes a slave was involved in all three, and stole to buy alcohol, got drunk, and fled to avoid punishment. Others tried to flee from their masters; we will discuss flight in Chapter 6.

Masters had great powers over their slaves from Roman times onward. Visigothic masters generally had the right to judge and punish their slaves when no outsider was involved, a right at times extended to all their tenants, whether slave or free. King Recceswinth (649–672) permitted masters to beat their slaves as punishment for infractions, and if a beaten slave died the master was held to be innocent. Nevertheless, Recceswinth prohibited mutilation of an accused slave without a public hearing to determine guilt. Before the time of King Chindasuinth (642–687), a slaveholder could kill his slave without having to give any accounting of his action. Chindasuinth required that a slave owner who wished to kill his slave would have to apply for permission to a local judge or a high noble to prove his assertion that the slave deserved death. King Erwig (680–687) modified the law, stating that a master who killed a slave would have to prove post hoc that the slave was guilty. Both Chindasuinth and Erwig provided harsh penalties for masters who killed an innocent slave.⁸⁹

The *Siete Partidas*, the Castilian law code of the thirteenth century, was explicit about what punitive measures were appropriate and which ones were not.

A master has complete authority over this slave to dispose of him as he pleases. Nevertheless, he should not kill him or wound him, although he may give him cause for it, except by order of the judge of the district; nor should he strike him in a way contrary to natural reason, or put him to death by starvation; except where he finds him with his wife or daughter, or where he commits some other offence of this sort, for then he certainly has a right to kill him. We also decree that, where a man is so cruel to his slaves as to kill them by starvation, or to wound or injure them so seriously that

they cannot endure it, in cases of this kind said slaves can complain to the judge; and the latter in discharge of his official duty should investigate and ascertain whether the charge is true, and if he finds that it is, he should sell the slaves, and give the price of them to their master; and he should do this in such a way that they never can be again placed in the power, or under the authority of the party through whose fault they were sold.⁹⁰

In late medieval Mallorca, public officials warily watched the large slave population of over 10 percent of the island's total.⁹¹ Slaves in Mallorca were predominantly Muslim men who often worked in agriculture outside the larger cities under minimal supervision. This is an exception to the usual pattern of slavery elsewhere in Iberia. Public fears heightened after 1374 when a Muslim rebellion in parts of Mallorca city had its aim of turning the island over to North African rulers. After the rebellion failed, restrictive measures repeatedly appeared on the books well into the fifteenth century. In 1387 importation of new Muslim slaves was forbidden, unless they were brought by Mallorcan corsair captains. Mallorcan public officials assumed that slaves would be tempted to steal. They prohibited free people from making any purchases from slaves of such items as cloth, clothes, tools, food, or firewood, on the belief that the slaves had stolen what they were selling. Slaves not born on the island had to be shackled. The *mestre de guaita* had charge of enforcement and of forcing slave owners to control their slaves, particularly to prevent their flight. They called for non-Christian slaves to be locked up and kept in chains at night. By day, slaves could go no closer than half a league to the sea. They could not beg and could not be prostitutes. Prohibitions on their drinking in taverns and public places kept them segregated from the general population. In the fifteenth century, Mallorcan slaves could not gather in groups of more than three and were subject to a curfew. They had to be in the house of their master at night and could only go out in the company of the master or a free man, and the latter could not be a freedman. The laws contained truly horrifying provisions for punishments, ranging from beatings to death. Such laws, whether enforced fully or not, had the effect of creating separate circles of life for the free and the non-free.⁹²

Late medieval Barcelona also had a night-time curfew for slaves. In the same period, Jews and Christians in Barcelona could buy nothing from slaves,

particularly domestic goods or tools.⁹³ Such pressures forced some slaves to seek to flee, regardless of the paths to assimilation and manumission open to them.

Seville had a rapidly growing population in the booming times of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It also had problems with increasing crime and the growth of an underworld of criminals. Public order in Seville was maintained by officers of the Santa Hermandad, a paramilitary police organization. Frequent targets were drunks, often slaves suffering from alcoholism. When drunken slaves were apprehended, they were beaten or put in leg irons. Apprehended fugitives could also be placed in leg irons. Thieves ended up in the city jail, as did prostitutes. Municipal officials feared the slaves in general and specifically worried about the possibility of an urban slave revolt. To lessen the threat, the municipality issued laws prohibiting slaves from carrying arms and limiting their right of assembly. Such regulations echoed those in Jerez de la Frontera in 1464 and in Carmona in 1492. Murcia also enacted similar rules in 1503.⁹⁴

Masters could punish their own slaves. In addition to the examples of good treatment of slaves by their owners, we can find records of harsh punishments they meted out to malefactors. Masters could punish them by flogging or by the process of *pringar*, dropping molten fat upon them. According to the thirteenth-century Castilian law code, they could imprison them, place them in stocks or in chains, or tie them up.⁹⁵ There were legal limits on the degree of punishment that masters could mete out to their slaves. Castilian laws prohibited masters from killing, mutilating, or maiming their slaves. Masters often overstepped the limits in fits of anger or calculated brutality. There are cases of slaves beaten so mercilessly that they died. In the late sixteenth century an official of the Inquisition, acting in a private capacity, ordered a slave to be hanged in a tree by his feet, and the slave died in the process. But masters did not always escape punishment for such acts. Local church officials punished clerical slave owners who mistreated slaves. One early seventeenth-century example is that of Diego Carrillo del Castillo, a cleric on the island of Lanzarote in the Canaries. He ordered a slave beaten so severely that the slave died. The Inquisition punished Carrillo by excommunicating him, revoking his religious offices, and confiscating his property.⁹⁶ In the last decade of the seventeenth century, a bishop's court in Jaén judged the case of a priest who fired a harquebus at a slave owned by a local nobleman.⁹⁷ Royal and municipal officials had police powers over slaves. Masters whose slaves proved incorrigible could sell or donate them to religious institutions or to the king. Unsuccessful fugitives could be branded to indicate their status. Those donated to the Crown could

end up working in government projects, or in the galleys or the mines, as we saw in a previous chapter.

Officials of the Inquisition sometimes took a less than strict view of minor transgressions by slaves. Slaves, as well as non-slaves, often found themselves before the Inquisition for having blasphemed, for having denied aspects of Christianity, or having called on the devil for help. As can be imagined, these expressions often slipped out in times of pain, drunkenness, bad luck, or high emotion. The inquisitors considered the circumstances and usually assigned minor punishments for what were obvious indiscretions in the heat of the moment rather than indications of major deviations from the faith.⁹⁸

Individual owners could devise punishments for their slaves. One slave owner in sixteenth-century Málaga, Leonor de Vera, became outraged when her white slave, María de Carranza, became pregnant. Though the documents do not show what lay behind the anger, they do reveal the punishment. María was to be taken to the city of Antequera, two days' ride away, and sold there with the understanding that she could never return to Málaga and never be freed. Her child, when it was born, was to be freed and turned over to Leonor de Vera with no compensation to the mother or her new owner.⁹⁹

Slaves could retaliate, but there are few examples of slave revolts in Iberia after the Roman period. The relatively small numbers of slaves in most places and the fact that the majority lived in their masters' households created barriers to conspiracies or collective action. There are exceptions. We mentioned a Muslim revolt in Mallorca in the late fourteenth century, in which both free men and slaves participated. Another isolated case took place in 1498, when the slaves of the Andalusian town of Palma del Río cut down the town's oak grove.¹⁰⁰

Murder or attempted murder was not unknown. In a famous story from late medieval Mallorca, the intellectual Ramon Llull (1232–1316) purchased a Muslim slave from whom he learned Arabic with such proficiency that he was able to write scholarly treatises in that language. Once on returning home, Llull learned that the slave had spoken disparagingly of Jesus and consequently hit the slave several times on the face and head. The embittered slave later took an opportunity to attack Llull with a sword and succeeded in wounding him severely but not fatally. Llull had the slave imprisoned and for several days prayerfully considered whether to kill him or to take other action. In the meantime, the slave hanged himself in his cell, saving his master

from deciding a course of action.¹⁰¹ In 1623 an unnamed slave woman killed her master, the nobleman don Fernando de Mendoza y Solís, by giving him a poisoned glass of wine. He had refused to give her permission to marry, and she had her revenge.¹⁰²

Just as the slaves' living conditions varied according to time and circumstance, so did the work they did. We will examine the working lives of slaves in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

To Work as a Slave

[S]laves, by and large, worked side by side with free laborers in the household, field, and artisan's workshop. . . . [W]hat distinguished the slave experience . . . was not the type of work performed, but the conditions under which they labored.

—Debra Blumenthal, early twenty-first century

A common definition of slavery describes it as a variety of forced, uncompensated labor. Although this definition relates to a single aspect of slavery, slave owners certainly expected their slaves to work for them. In the history of slavery in the Iberian Peninsula, we find slaves working at a wide range of tasks, from domestics to slave soldiers, from artisans to garbage collectors. Domestic service with its many variations was their most common occupation, but by no means their only one, in the wide array of possible tasks for slaves. Slaves worked in the home, in artisan workshops, and in agriculture. Save for the years of Roman expansion into the peninsula, there were no large slave gangs working the fields. Slaves otherwise were not limited in their productive activities.

Domestic Slavery and Its Variations

The old argument over whether domestic slavery represented productive labor seems almost beside the point. Older scholarly generations tended to depreciate the significance of domestic work, in part because women did it. In recent years, historians have come to appreciate the productive work that went on in the

domestic context and the significant roles that women played in medieval and early modern households, where domestics, both slave and free, participated in artisan production. Many households produced most of the common clothing and utensils for internal consumption, and the workshops of artisans were extensions of the household and often in the house itself. The work of domestics also allowed the free members of the family to devote themselves to other productive pursuits. Towns and cities in pre-modern eras had close connections to the countryside, and domestic slaves helped with agricultural chores on a seasonal basis.¹

The author of the quotation at the head of this chapter found documents from two enslaved sisters, Johana and Ursola, that recount their labors over a period of a decade and a half in mid-fifteenth-century Valencia. They worked in their owner's townhouse in the city of Valencia and also on his rural estate. In the house they made bread, cooked, cleaned, and swept. They found their laundry duties especially taxing, as they were required to wash, scrub, and rinse the clothing in nearly boiling water. All this could be part of the regular duties of household servants, slave or free. In addition, though, they were involved in many productive and supporting activities far from the home. On the estate, they picked fruit and sold it in the market. They worked in the fields and orchards at other crucial periods of the agricultural year: when the wine grapes were gathered, when the grain was harvested, and when the olive oil was made.² Theirs is a story that many domestic slaves could have told at any time from ancient to early modern times. It shows that even slaves considered as domestics worked outside the home as part of their regular duties. It also alerts us to gender divisions in the sort of work slaves did. Johana and Ursola did not tend the animals on the estate, as that job typically and almost exclusively fell to men.

Variety in occupations and tasks was a constant for slaves in Iberia. Regardless of the period, prospective purchasers of slaves made a decision, based on at least an implicit cost-benefit analysis, that a slave was cheaper than a paid worker.³ During Roman times, the wealthy and even the moderately well-off householders of Hispania employed slaves as domestic servants. Like their contemporaries elsewhere in the Roman world, they assigned their slaves to all types of household duties, as maids, guards, repairmen, and cooks. The evidence from inscriptions on memorial stones reveals a number of different occupations that doubtless gave their practitioners even more responsible roles. These included *nutrix* (nurse) and *ornatrix* (female hairdresser), common occupations in any slaveholding society, and slave occupations as *paedagogus* (teacher) and *medicus* (physician) were not uncommon in Roman times.⁴ The use of slaves in similar roles continued throughout the Visigothic period.

The Muslims of Iberia made use of their slaves in a variety of ways, commonly as domestic servants or business agents. Free people shunned domestic service, and as a result householders frequently employed slaves as servants. From what we know of their treatment in Islamic Spain, it is apparent that women as slaves could enjoy a better situation than that of men. At times women became real members of the family through adoption, and domestic slaves as a rule were sold only if they offended the family. As in Roman times, nursemaids occupied an honored position.⁵

Slave traders provided most slave women in Muslim Spain, because Spanish Christian captives were usually men, combatant prisoners of war. In the slave markets in each city, slave women received particular care. They were inspected by matrons in the employ of the president of the market. Divided into “distinguished” and “gross” categories, the latter usually went into domestic service, while some of the former became concubines or entertainers. The concubines became an accepted part of family life. The entertainers who had been trained in Spain or other parts of the Islamic world occupied prized positions. Within this wide array of possible tasks for slaves, white women were more sought after and expensive than blacks, although a growing number of mulattos in Muslim Spain indicates that black slaves did not fail to find buyers.⁶

Christian households employed slaves as domestics throughout the Middle Ages. Barcelona and other cities in the Crown of Aragon had a range of slave owners from elite and non-elite classes.⁷ Most slaves in late medieval Seville were domestic workers. Well-off families usually had at least two slaves. Wealthier families owned greater numbers, much as their contemporaries in Italy did. Among the buyers of slaves, though, artisans predominated. In a study of slaves in half the neighborhoods of Seville in the late fifteenth century, one scholar found 166 artisans who owned one slave, 49 who owned two, 16 who owned three, 7 who owned four, and 3 who owned five or six.⁸ The majority of slave owners in the Andalusian town of Rota in the early sixteenth century held one or two slaves.⁹ Late sixteenth-century Córdoba provided these figures for the purchasers of slaves:¹⁰

nobility 23.22%
clergy 12.40%
merchants 18.72%
public officials 6.63%
learned professions 15%
artisans 20%
farmers less than 5%

For Jaén in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the array was roughly similar. Fifty percent of the owners of slaves were members of the noble and clerical elite, 31 percent belonged to the middle class, and 19 percent were artisans.¹¹ At least one university student in early sixteenth-century Salamanca owned and sold a woman slave.¹²

For women slaves, domestic service was the most important assignment. The hazards of forced sexual activity and of the reproductive functions of women slaves received attention in the previous chapter. Wet nurses were especially important. Owners of lactating slave women often rented them out to different households.¹³

Artisanry

Many slaves also served as valuable assistants in artisan workshops, in construction, and in shops. They benefited their owners by bringing skills they had learned before they were enslaved or by learning a new craft. At the very least, they learned the customs and life of the society in which they found themselves.

Slaves of the Romans also worked in commerce and manufacturing. Along with free artisans, they engaged in the artisan production of pottery, glassware, jewelry, bricks and stonework, metalwork and baked goods. Slaves worked in the warehouses and on the docks of the ports. Some of the slaves in commerce and artisanry were more fortunate than other slaves and occupied higher positions, serving as agents for their owners or acting as shopkeepers, managers, secretaries, and accountants. They had greater freedom of action, and their masters rewarded them better. As one example, many of the amphorae used to transport wine and olive oil to Italy and beyond bore the names of the owners and their slaves, and at times only the names of the slaves. These stampings indicate the participation of some slaves as responsible agents in production and commerce. Such slaves could more easily and quickly accumulate money to pay for their manumissions. Appreciative masters might bequeath their businesses to their slaves.¹⁴ The same was true in Muslim times.

Salt production was important in medieval and early modern times and included the extraction of salt from evaporative pools (*salinas*) located in coastal and inland regions and rock salt mined in various locations. One of the most famous was the salt mountain near Cardona in Catalonia, where for centuries salt was excavated in open-pit operations. Though the documentation

is scant in Spanish territories, it would be surprising if slaves were not employed in salt production there throughout pre-modern times.¹⁵ They certainly worked in production of the mineral in salt-pans in various places in Portugal, most notably along the Sado River near Setúbal in early modern times.¹⁶

Slave owners in late medieval Valencia employed most of their slaves as domestic servants and artisans. Slaves worked in all sectors of the economy, but there were no large slave gangs. Some masters rented their slaves to work for others for specified periods. Slaves were prohibited from being sailors or galley oarsmen, because the authorities feared that they might use their relative freedom to flee. Those who purchased slaves came from many of the classes in Valencian society: nobles, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, professionals, soldiers and military officers, and royal officials. Slaves owned by merchants often had wide freedom of movement as they worked as agents of their masters. The merchants especially valued Muslim slaves because they could easily conduct business with other Muslims, thanks to their knowledge of Arabic.¹⁷

Late medieval and early modern Christian artisans found slaves to be good investments, who probably cost them less than a free apprentice would. Though guilds prohibited slaves from joining and at times stopped masters from teaching slaves certain skills, the slaves could assist in many aspects of production and the maintenance of the small artisan shops. Usually masters recruited unskilled workers and gave them the dirty work. Pierre Bonassie asserted that "slave labor, without a doubt, provided one of the motors of industrial activity" in late medieval and early modern Barcelona.¹⁸ At the same time, there were even more highly skilled slaves in Barcelona. The painter Lluís Borrassà owned a slave of Tatar origin to whom he gave the name Lluç Borrassà. The slave learned the skills of the artist, later attained his freedom, and made a reputation as a painter of altarpieces for churches. Other former slaves in Barcelona who made names for themselves included a sculptor, master stonemasons, and a maker of crossbows.¹⁹

Slaves in late fifteenth-century Seville and Granada served as helpers for a variety of artisan owners. The work day for free labor in Christian Granada was between twelve and thirteen hours, but masters could force slaves to work at any time.²⁰ The owners included those who worked in construction: masons, carpenters, and painters. Other owners worked in cloth making and clothing: carders, spinners, weavers, silk makers, tailors, and rag merchants. Proprietors in the cloth industries valued Moriscas highly, especially as spinners and embroiderers. There were tanners, shoemakers, and hat makers. There were chair makers, upholsterers and the makers of enamels. Seville's connection with

the sea meant that among its slaveholders were ship owners, mariners and sailors, caulkers, and fishermen. Other slave owners were blacksmiths, millers, and makers of armor. Tavern keepers, millers, pharmacists, brokers, and merchants owned slaves, as did a few public officials. Many women and men slaves worked in the leather industry. Slaves also worked in smaller numbers in additional income-producing ventures, such as the soap factory of Seville and the municipal granary. Their owners employed them as porters and long-shoremen, retail sellers in the streets and plazas, assistants for shopkeepers and merchants. Some of the slaves acted as agents for their merchant-owners, a few even being entrusted with business trips to the Spanish settlements in the Americas. The prominent artist Alejo Fernández (1475–1545) owned several slaves who worked in his atelier in Seville. One, named Gaspar de Güejar, likely of American Indian origin, had the artist's power of attorney and collected debts for him in various places in Andalucía. Many of the skilled crafts guilds excluded slaves, although some slaves did work as helpers for guild masters. They worked in Seville's printing shops, and at least two weapon makers employed black slaves.²¹

Slaves in late medieval Barcelona worked in similar occupations and often faced discrimination in the guilds similar to that practiced in Seville. A close reading of Barcelona's ordinances suggests, however, that the authors of the restrictions had non-Christians as their targets, not slaves in general, for native-born slaves (who could be assumed to be Christians) were usually exempt from the restrictions on guild membership that slaves of other origins faced.²²

One of the most unusual sets of tasks assigned to slaves comes from fifteenth-century Valencia, where slaves appeared in court with some regularity as aggressors against members of prominent families. In many cases, their trials indicated that they had acted on the orders of their masters, who engaged in feuds with the victims' families and who seem to have wished to inflict the maximum amount of shame and loss of honor on their enemies by having their slaves do the dirty work.²³

In late sixteenth-century Huelva, most slave owners were artisans, who had one or two slaves who assisted them in artisan work.²⁴ In early modern Jaén, many slaves worked as water carriers and bakers. The latter left a trace in the geography of the city, where there is still a street called "Hornos Negros" (black ovens), which could derive from the black slaves and freed people who worked in the bread bakeries there.²⁵

In the Canary Islands, slaves worked in similar capacities, often placed as apprentices to master artisans who paid their masters a salary for their labor.

They worked above all in all phases of the sugar industry, but also in lumbering and carpentry, in blacksmithing, and in the production of clothing and shoes. They also served as herdsmen for the flocks of the islands. Wax was an important Canarian export crop, and slaves worked in its collection and processing. In the first half of the sixteenth century slaves also served as fishermen and sailors, and late in the same century some slaves from the Canaries worked as sailors on ships making the Indies run.²⁶

Independent Agents

Not much is known of independently operating slaves in Roman or Visigothic times, but we do know that Muslim masters frequently employed male slaves as business agents. The normal Arabic word for slave (*‘abd*) was not used for a servile business agent; rather he was the “young man” (*ghulām*) of the master. While the male slaves could be the chief business agents of their masters and even engage in business on their own account, they also could be put to a variety of other uses, including menial tasks at times. The slaves had their own hierarchy, related to the status of their masters.²⁷

Similar situations were present in Christian Iberia, where slaves did not always live in the owners’ houses. Most masters used their slaves in their own establishments, but others rented out the labor of their slaves for various reasons. Some placed their slaves with artisans to learn the skills of a trade. Two apprenticeship documents from early sixteenth-century Seville reveal slaves serving as apprentices. Juan, a black man and former servant, signed on as an apprentice of the shoemaker Diego Bernal for a three-year term beginning in 1506.²⁸ In 1516 the university graduate Alonso Pérez Mazanedo made a contract with the painter Alonso Fernández Cevadero to take on Pérez’s slave Juan, twenty-two years old, as an apprentice for two years to teach him the trade. In the course of the apprenticeship Fernández would give Juan food and drink, a bed to sleep in, clothes, and shoes.²⁹

Slaves often worked outside the homes of their owners. In Christian Granada, the owners of slaves who knew how to spin, who were almost always women, could have them work for others and gain a salary. The person who rented the slave’s labor paid the salary to the owner, and the slave went to reside in the new home. Other slaves, known as *cortados*, lived and worked permanently outside the homes of their masters. Either their owners rented out their labor, or the slaves themselves worked on their own account and returned a

fixed sum of money to their owners, many of whom seem to have owned slaves mainly as an investment. In Mallorca, owners at times rented their slaves for work outside the home, in a similar manner to the *cortados*. Called “setmaners” or “setmaneras” (although the term also applied to any free worker paid by the week), they were often rented for short periods, such as at the time of the grain or olive harvest. The usual terms of employment specified that the rented slaves would send back to their master about half the salary they received. They thus often had opportunities to keep part of the money they earned and even speculate with it, frequently with the aim of purchasing their manumission.³⁰

A small number of Muslims remained in Spain until the eighteenth century, as we saw earlier, for Muslim and Morisco slaves received exemptions when the Morisco community was expelled in the early seventeenth century. Many of the exempted slaves were *cortados*. Their supposedly disorderly lives aroused complaints in the Cortes as early as 1628, but it was not until 1712 that the *moros cortados* were ordered to leave Spain.³¹

In early modern Portugal, it was common for slave women to be employed as washerwomen and garbage and refuse collectors. Slave men worked on the docks as stevedores, and as laborers in the construction industry. Slaves with greater skill worked in the craft guilds, although the more prestigious of the guilds—those of sword makers, goldsmiths, and lapidaries—restricted slave access to the higher ranks of membership. Blacksmiths and shoemakers offered seemingly unrestricted advancement to slaves, but hosiers and pastry makers put bounds on the rise of their slaves. Sellers of water, vegetables, and processed food were often slaves, and the authorities regulated their activities because of considerations of public health.³²

Slave owners came from a wide range of the Portuguese population, and the sort of work assigned to their slaves responded to the owners’ choices. The higher ranks of society made use of numbers of slaves as domestic servants, but in much smaller numbers than would become common later in Brazil. Aside from domestic servants, other urban slaves worked for institutions; among these, hospitals were significant, using slaves as cleaners and launderers. Owners of slaves could either supervise their work directly or rent them out to craftsmen and tradesmen. As was to be the case later along the west coast of South America, slaves in Portugal were to be found as sailors, boatmen, and ferrymen. We previously mentioned black seamen and interpreters on the trading vessels sailing to Africa. Back in Portugal, black slaves often operated the ferries on the major rivers, and public authorities took various steps to insure the steady performance of the slaves’ duties.³³

Slaves were an important component of the local economy in the Spanish coastal city of Almería in the early sixteenth century and contributed substantially to the support of the military defense of the city. The city government rented slaves from their owners to handle such tasks as repairing the city walls and laboring in the gunpowder factory. One episode demonstrated their importance. A number of North African slaves had supported the attacking forces during a combined Turkish-Algerian raid on Almería in 1620. In the following year, a decree required owners to move their North African slaves twelve leagues inland. Soon the gunpowder factory had to shut down and the city walls went unrepaired. The problems also affected the civilian economy: the salt pans were out of operation, silk production had fallen dramatically, the docks lacked workers, and farming declined. Eventually, the government permitted baptized slaves and Muslim slaves under the age of fourteen to return.³⁴

Agriculture

Slaves in Roman Spain were used in agriculture, as both workers and overseers. The usual pattern for the estates was absentee ownership, at least until later in the Empire, with the local management delegated to overseers, often slaves themselves, who organized the work of slave gangs. In Spain, we have the example of the Roman writer Martial (ca. 38–ca.104), who owned a farm near Bilbilis (near the modern town of Calatayud) that was worked by slaves under a manager (*vilicus*) who was himself a slave.³⁵

The rural slaves among the Visigoths varied considerably in status. A variety of dependent workers provided the staffs for the estates of the nobles. Among the slaves of the nobility, a privileged group of slaves, the *idonei*, occupied positions of trust in the lord's household, acting as house managers, estate managers, record keepers, and other specialists. They escaped the most onerous rules of slavery. Certainly they were a small minority among the slaves, most of whom were domestic servants and agricultural workers (*viles* or *vilis-simi servi* and *rusticani*). Most slaves of the Visigoths worked the lord's land and enjoyed land tenure of a sort. In this way their status approached that of Roman *coloni* and later medieval serfs. Throughout Europe, the greater rural labor requirements as a consequence of the extension of agriculture into newly cleared lands and the introduction of specialization, such as vine growing, allowed some agricultural laborers to secure improved conditions of land tenure and thereby better status.³⁶

Free labor was the norm for agriculture and industry in the Islamic world of the Middle Ages, with a few striking exceptions to the general rule. There was a sufficient supply of indigenous workers, both urban and rural, so that there was no reason to import vast numbers of slaves as laborers.³⁷

Recent studies are affirming the proposition that slaves were more important in agriculture in medieval Christian areas than we formerly thought, with some scholars able to demonstrate that slaves in late medieval Barcelona, for example, frequently worked in agricultural pursuits. The buyers of slaves in Barcelona came from a variety of professions, but many of their slaves worked at least part time in their masters' fields and gardens or cared for their farm animals. Even in a highly urbanized area such as Barcelona, slaves routinely worked in agriculture.³⁸

On the island of Mallorca in the fifteenth century, there was an elevated servile population, and the percentages of slaves were particularly high in the smaller towns. This suggests that the slaves were used in agricultural pursuits. The social situation of the island points in the same direction. The population was small to begin with and declined because of epidemics and wars. The sex ratio among slaves of 3.9 men to 2.5 women was unusual in Iberia, as we have seen, and the higher percentages of slaves in smaller towns would support a hypothesis that many of the men were working in agriculture.³⁹

Most studies of slavery in Spain in the later Middle Ages and the early modern period have concentrated on the use of sales documents, preserved in the records of public notaries, to discuss slaves and slavery. These documents frequently cite the occupation of the buyers and sellers, but they almost never specifically mention the work the slaves did. For example, in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jaén, farmers figure only occasionally among the owners of slaves, despite the fact that the city was in a prime agricultural area.⁴⁰ In late sixteenth-century Huelva and Palos, almost no slaves seemingly worked in agriculture.⁴¹ In eighteenth-century Cartagena, only 8 percent of the owners of slaves were farmers.⁴² Many scholars, relying on the sale documents, assume that a slave worked as a household servant for the buyer or as a helper in the buyer's main occupation. In an article that has not had the attention that it deserves, Bernard Vincent found records of slaves in Málaga in the late sixteenth century that call this into question. The records appear in a revealing census of male slaves above fourteen years of age in that city in 1581, showing the identity of the masters and the slaves, the slaves' origins and ages, and, most important,

the work the slaves did. Most medieval and early modern documents do not reveal how the slaves worked, and as Vincent said of this valuable record, "all at once, 575 individuals step out of the shadows." They step out, moreover, in very revealing ways. An analysis of the occupations of their owners shows that most (90 of the 162 cases in which the proprietor's occupation appeared) were in the service sector, comprising merchants, public officials, clerics, and similar occupations. Far fewer were artisans (33/162), and fewer still were farmers (7/162). From these figures, which are similar to the sort of figures that scholars have developed elsewhere from notarial documents, one could easily draw the conclusion that few slaves worked in farming. A very different and more plausible picture emerges when the tasks at which the men actually work are considered. These tasks are specified in 534 cases among the 575 individuals: 118 are in farming, 45 relate to artisanry, 159 are in the household, 97 indicate work outside the house as day laborers, and 138 are those who divided their time between more than one occupation, including agricultural tasks.⁴³ From the first list alone, one could draw the conclusion that just over 4 percent of the slaves in Málaga worked in agriculture, whereas the second set of figures provides the information that 22 percent worked in agriculture full time and even more did so part time. A similar situation was present in the city of Santa Cruz on the Canarian island of La Palma, where in the late sixteenth century many slaves worked either completely or part-time on the agricultural parcels of their owners, who occupied a wide range of professions, including the liberal professions, the military, and the bureaucracy.⁴⁴ Many slaves in early modern Portugal also worked in agriculture.⁴⁵ Owners throughout the Iberian world used their slaves periodically on their own farms, while other farmers were eager to secure the temporary labor of slaves at planting time and at harvest by renting slaves from their owners, who no doubt welcomed the income they generated. This changes our view of what slaves did and their importance in agriculture, the main component of the pre-modern economy.

Nonetheless, medieval and early modern slavery in Spain was predominantly an urban pursuit, and even those slaves and free workers employed in agriculture typically lived in the towns and villages and walked to the fields to do their work. When slaves were used on the land in Portugal at the same period, they seem to have been concentrated in small numbers. The great division was the Tagus River; slave use in agriculture was more common south of the river and much less frequent north of it.⁴⁶

Sugar Cane: A Special Case

For over a thousand years, favored valleys in the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula have supported fields of sugar cane, and Iberians have extracted juice from the canes and refined sugar from it. Sugar cane production in Iberia, as in all the Mediterranean basin, was a marginal operation in a region too dry in summer and too cold in winter for optimal sugar growing. Iberia's sugar production occupied an intermediary stage in sugar cane's spread from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Iberia owed that role to its position as a geographical crossroads, where the Mediterranean meets the Atlantic and where Africa and Europe approach at their closest point. Two paths of sugar's spread converged there: the Muslim path that led from Mesopotamia to Egypt and then around the southern shore of the Mediterranean to Iberia, and the Christian path that led from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Crusader states in Syria and Palestine to Cyprus and Sicily and from there to Valencia.⁴⁷

Historians and other scholars have devoted great attention in the last two decades to the histories of slavery in Spain and of sugar production. Nonetheless, historians of sugar have paid relatively little attention to the story of labor, and historians of slavery have seldom concentrated on sugar in Iberia. From the few comments such scholars have made, it is clear that sugar growing and refining in Iberia followed common practice in other Mediterranean areas in the same centuries: free workers mainly provided the necessary labor. There may have been a few slaves involved here and there, but slavery was on a small scale, with slaves employed mainly as additional workers in a system of free or semi-free labor.⁴⁸ The close connection between slavery and sugar appeared only later in the colonial areas of the Atlantic.

By the late fifteenth century, sugar from the new colonial areas, beginning with the island of Madeira, began to enter European markets, often at substantially lower prices than those of the Iberian producers.⁴⁹ This foreshadowed the series of sugar booms that followed sugar's introduction into semitropical and tropical areas in the Caribbean and on the American mainland. Due to the competition, Iberian production suffered in Valencia and the Granadan coast, and the lower Guadalquivir valley ceased to produce sugar on any but a minor scale.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, sugar production did continue in the peninsula long after the competition from Atlantic production began.

Slaves came to be used in greater numbers on the farms and in the mills of the Atlantic islands, but there too free labor was also present, as Portuguese and Spaniards migrated to the newly discovered islands. The connection

between slavery and sugar, though, had been planted, setting the ground-work for the plantation system in the Americas. In the Canaries the export of sugar remained important throughout the sixteenth century, but increasingly its export was restricted to two major receiving ports: Seville and Cádiz. The number of Canarian mills declined from some seventeen early in the sixteenth century to eleven or twelve by 1600. Slaves continued to be a majority in the work force of the sugar mills, although free Spaniards and Portuguese and freed slaves augmented the supply of labor. Slaves certainly worked in the mills and in the transport of sugar.⁵¹ The importance of slave labor can be shown from the request of the citizens of Gran Canaria to Felipe II after he prohibited *cabalgadas* (raids) to the African mainland, beginning in 1572. The citizens' overriding complaint was that "because the principal enterprises on Grand Canary are sugar mills and vineyards, and because they have no slaves to work and cultivate them, each day they suffer great harm."⁵² The reference to vineyards illustrates the fact that slaves in the Canaries worked in traditional agriculture as well as in the sugar industry.⁵³ Slaves—Canarian, North and sub-Saharan African—also worked in Madeira's sugar fields and mills from the mid-fifteenth century. The Madeiran operations were small-scale compared to the later American plantations and combined free workers, sharecroppers, and slaves in the labor force.⁵⁴

Institutional Owners: State and Church

Throughout ancient, medieval, and early modern times, public officials and monarchs owned slaves. Roman Spain had public slaves, owned by city governments or by the Roman state. In the period of the Roman Republic, state slaves were the property of the *populus romanus* and were controlled and directed by the Senate. The cities and the state acquired their slaves by all the normal means of recruitment, particularly through the capture of prisoners of war and also through confiscations. These slaves worked at public service jobs, building and maintaining roads and aqueducts and filling bureaucratic positions. During the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, the emperors also owned state slaves and other slaves as their personal property; in the succeeding two centuries, the state slaves and the personal slaves of the emperor came under a single control.⁵⁵

One of the chief purposes for the Roman takeover in Spain was to assert control of the mineral wealth of Hispania. The usual picture is that mining

was a harsh occupation, that mining operations were typically on a large scale, and that slaves were the vast majority of the miners, because free men would not submit to the inhuman conditions of work in the mines. The ancient authors created the foundation of such an impression. Polybius reported some 40,000 slaves at work in the silver mines of Cartagena, and one of the most horrifying descriptions of the Spanish mines comes from Diodorus Siculus. Recent work based on epigraphy and on archeology suggests that the picture is more complicated than that presented by the narrative sources. Mines frequently operated on a small scale, and manpower came more often from labor drafts imposed on the towns by Roman authorities. Thus most mine workers were free, even though slaves could be found working as miners and at other tasks in the mining districts. The Roman state at first operated all the mines, but more and more mines were being rented to private operators, although the gold mines remained in the hands of the state. The labor force included a variety of sources: free workers, convicts assigned to the mines, public slaves in the state-operated mines, and private slaves in the leased mines.⁵⁶

Slaves of the Roman state were known as the *familia Caesaris*, “the family of the emperor.” They provided the imperial household staff and many of the administrators of the Empire. Those in the administrative group handled record keeping and correspondence, collected taxes, and disbursed money. State slaves could generally look forward to emancipation and often continued their careers as imperial freedmen.⁵⁷

The crown slaves in the Visigothic kingdom filled royal offices and had a much higher status than ordinary slaves. Similar to the Roman public slaves and known as *servi fiscales* (slaves of the royal treasury), crown slaves served the king in the royal administration, ran his estates, and served as his household officials. Crown slaves could hold slaves of their own, but could free them only with the lord’s permission. Many crown slaves had begun their careers as skilled slaves of other lords; if they impressed the king or his officials, he often took them into royal service, much to the annoyance of their former masters.⁵⁸

Many slaves and freed slaves served among the public officials of al-Andalus. In 925 the official in charge of silk and gold manufacturing was a slave, and two former slaves were in charge of the royal household. One slave, Badr, was the sword bearer of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. Later Badr rose in the bureaucratic hierarchy, becoming vizier and head of the postal service. One of his sons became secretary of state and then prefect of police. Another son became governor of Seville.⁵⁹ In fact, large numbers of imported Eastern European slaves, the *ṣaqaliba*, found employment in the Umayyad government and formed a

loyal bureaucracy for the rulers. Some were eunuchs, but most were not.⁶⁰ We will consider slave soldiers, also owned by the state, in a later section.

The church and its clerics were other important proprietors of slaves in the medieval and early modern Christian states, as we have seen. Church slaves among the Visigoths found it difficult to attain freedom, because their institutional master was permanent, and thus they could not benefit from manumission by testament. Even though manumission was held to be a praiseworthy deed for a Christian, the church recognized that the emancipation of church slaves represented a loss to the patrimony of the church. If a clergyman did choose to grant freedom to church slaves, he had to compensate the church for the value of those he manumitted.⁶¹ Freedmen of the church and their descendants were still bound by ties of dependence to the church. They did not enjoy full freedom, particularly in regard to their marriage options: they could not marry free people.⁶²

Long after the end of Visigothic times, officials of the church commonly owned slaves. In 1169 the bishop of Gerona, Guillermo de Peratallada, left by testament all his money and his "sarracenos," his Muslim slaves, to the hospital of Jerusalem. A later bishop of Gerona in 1278 left in his will a baptized black slave and a Muslim slave. The bishop of Tarragona listed slaves among his possessions in his will in 1214. In 1325 the archbishop of Toledo made a perpetual grant of men and women Muslim slaves to the dean and chapter of the collegiate church in the town of Talavera de la Reina. In none of these cases were the occupations of the slaves listed, and one could well suppose most of them worked in the domestic chores of a large ecclesiastical household. But in the case of the slaves of archbishop Sparagi in Mallorca in the 1390s, there is a suggestion that they might have worked on the agricultural estates of the archdiocese.⁶³ In the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, communities of monks and of nuns owned slaves, as did individual monks and nuns. Monks could more easily own, buy, and sell slaves. Nuns led more restricted lives, though they could own slaves of their own in addition to the slaves owned collectively by the convent. Similarly, members of the military orders owned slaves, as did the orders as a whole. Sometimes monasteries received slaves as donations.⁶⁴

Institutionally owned slaves labored in the construction of fortifications and other major buildings. In twelfth-century Aragón, don Pedro de Atarés built the monastic church of Veruela with the help of free workers and a large number of slaves. In 1276, the bailiff of the bishop of Huesca kept a close accounting of the expenses of building a castle for the bishop at Sesa. The bishop

ordered ten slaves to be sent from Huesca to Sesa, with four men to guard them during the trip. When they arrived, one man remained as their guard. Locked up at night, the slaves worked during the day to excavate the foundations for the castle.⁶⁵

Among the Muslim slaves of the Christians in the later Middle Ages were elite slaves, much in demand by royal and local officials. King Pedro IV of Aragon sought a slave physician from Villafranca, where in 1340 a famous eye specialist was a slave. Educated Muslim slaves were in demand as scholars and copyists throughout Christian Spain.⁶⁶ The director of the royal mint in Segovia purchased nine slaves in 1589 as workers, as we saw in an earlier chapter. This may have been an isolated experiment, for the director had to travel to Lisbon to purchase them, and of the nine he bought, five died and one fled.⁶⁷

Slaves were also used in road construction in the eighteenth century and helped build roads from Madrid to Barcelona and from Madrid to Segovia.⁶⁸ The royal government helped spark a period of significant growth in Cartagena in the eighteenth century by building important defensive works, including a new arsenal. The city grew from around 10,000 in 1700 to about 50,000 by the end of the century. The population boom and government spending stimulated the local economy and seemingly made it difficult to recruit free workers for heavy construction. Instead, slaves, mainly Moroccans and Turks, came to be employed. Slaves owned by the state declined in number and disappeared in the course of the eighteenth century.⁶⁹

Noble Slaveowners

Many noble households in the south of the peninsula had slaves in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century. In some cases, the work the slaves did was extremely varied, combining domestic service with agriculture, fishing, and construction. The marquises of Cádiz and the dukes of Medina Sidonia had slaves working in their *almadrabas*, coastal stations where tuna and other fish were netted and caught. The marquis of Cádiz employed fifty-two slaves in 1485 when he was building his famous tower in the town of Cádiz. He may not have owned them all; some may have worked for the marquis under contracts he made with their owners. When don Juan de Guzmán, duke of Medina Sidonia, died in 1507, he owned 216 slaves, 121 men and 95 women, some of whom came from royally licensed raids that the duke made along the Atlantic coast of Africa. The slaves of the duke occupied a series of specialized

occupations: masons, carpenters, painters, plasterers, a worker in gold, a master tile setter, esparto workers, a sword keeper, water carriers, gardeners, muleteers, a shoemaker, barbers, a wax maker, cooks, and even a lion tamer, among other skills. The duke maintained such a large slave force not only from a desire to display his wealth but, more importantly, to provide a labor force for his agricultural and construction ventures, as well as his various residences, farms, and workshops. The slaves who lived in the main establishment formed families that combined slaves, freed people, and others born free.⁷⁰

Madrid and Valladolid had unusual patterns of slaveholding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. King Felipe II designated Madrid as Spain's capital and the principal residence of the royal court in the later sixteenth century; it remained there save for a brief period when it moved to Valladolid in 1601–1604. A wide range of slave owners resided in the capital, including merchants, artisans, and ordinary members of the clergy. Nonetheless, the greatest number of slave owners were *grandees* and lesser nobles, senior government officials, and high clerics. Most had at least one slave and others many more. A generation ago, noted scholars argued that the early modern elites in Madrid and elsewhere employed their slaves as domestics and that the slaves played little role in the economy. Such scholars believed that the wealthier householders maintained slaves primarily to demonstrate their owners' wealth, power, and social status. More recent scholars have refuted this view and have demonstrated the importance and productivity of household work, as we have seen.⁷¹

Slave Soldiers

The Romans had prohibited the military use of slaves, but disaffected slaves joined with the Visigoths during their incursions. Visigothic monarchs at times required all those nobles who were obliged to fight in the royal armies to bring some of their slaves with them at the time of the muster. King Erwig in the sixth century stated that all nobles were required to bring 10 percent of their slaves—fully armed—to join the levy. If the nobles failed to comply and did not bring the requisite percentage of their slaves, the king could confiscate their remaining slaves.⁷²

Muslim rulers used concentrations of slave soldiers and bureaucrats. The widespread employment of slave troops, the Mamluks, was the most unusual aspects of slavery among the Muslims. Mamluks and state slaves were also an

important element among the servile population of Islamic Spain, as we have seen. Loyalty was a rare and precious commodity for those who held power in al-Andalus. Factionalism was widespread, due to the complicated ethnic and linguistic distinctions as well as political squabbles and family disputes. The original impetus for the use of slave troops was a fairly simple one: they were loyal. Thus it is quite understandable that the concept of buying loyal troops spread widely. Completely cut off from their homelands and families, the Mamluks' allegiances were to themselves and their masters. Their numbers included Berbers, sub-Saharan Africans, and Europeans. The predominant element consisted of Slavs and other Europeans, although black Africans composed some special guards units. In time, many Slavs came to occupy important posts in Islamic Spain, as freedmen or as slaves.

The status and conditions of the Mamluks varied greatly from those of ordinary slaves. Far from being ordinary slaves, they were comparable to the *familia Caesaris* of the Roman Empire. The members of both groups were legally slaves but also were part of a prestigious organization that gave them communal support and companionship and that offered them a path to freedom and power. They began as slaves taken by slave traders from their places of origin and thus completely separated from the society of their birth. Legally, they were subject to the same laws and rules as other slaves. Beyond these similarities, however, their lives diverged radically from those of other slaves. They went through a military training program designed to reward loyalty. Once they were admitted to the ranks, they could rise as far as their ability and skill at intrigue permitted. They could attain freedom, and many Mamluks, once they were freed, rose to high office.⁷³ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, following the collapse of the Spanish caliphate, many of the successor *taifa* kingdoms had former Mamluks as their rulers.⁷⁴

There was another group of slave soldiers, this one in Granada at the end of the Muslim period. Called *gacis*, they were black African slaves imported by Granada's rulers to help defend Granada at the very end of the Christian reconquest. After the Christians took Granada in 1492, many of the *gacis* went to North Africa, while others remained as dependents of prominent Muslim families. They were gradually manumitted and blended with the rest of the Morisco population.⁷⁵

The rich Romans in Italy and elsewhere had eunuchs as servants. They were expensive and became even more expensive after the emperor Domitian prohibited the castration of slaves in Roman territory. Thereafter, they had to be imported from outside the Empire.⁷⁶ Eunuchs were certainly present in

imperial Rome itself, though not much is known of them in Roman Spain. More is known about the eunuchs of Islamic Spain. To guard their harems, rich Spanish Muslims frequently employed eunuchs, and rulers employed them in government service for their assumed loyalty. These scarce and unfortunate individuals commanded high prices for their owners. The surgical techniques varied, and the physiological effects varied according to the age at which the surgery took place. The operation itself, regardless whether just the testicles or the testicles and penis were removed, was traumatic, and the risk of postoperative infection was great. The elevated death rate accounted for a large part of the high prices the owners of the survivors could demand. Castration was generally illegal throughout the Christian and Islamic worlds, but the practice continued in certain places. Slave traders brought prospective eunuchs from the great slaving regions outside the frontiers and castrated them in special centers along the trade routes: Verdun in France, Prague in Bohemia, Samarkand and Bukhara in the East, and Christian communities in southern Egypt, or in Muslim Spain, particularly the town of Pechina. Ibn Ḥawqal (tenth century) even wrote—with obvious exaggeration—that “all the Slavic eunuchs that there are on the face of the earth are provided from Spain.” These centers and others flourished because of the experience of the castrators, whose skills helped keep down the death rate.⁷⁷

From the foregoing discussions, we can see that the work of slaves varied considerably in each period from ancient to early modern times. After Roman times, slaves ceased to be as large a proportion of the population or the labor force. During and after the Middle Ages, and in both Islamic and Christian Spain, slaves were important as workers in all sectors of the traditional economy, and slavery as an institution showed great complexity, despite the relatively low number of slaves. Many slaves had low status and toiled at menial tasks, but more fortunate slaves had positions with greater responsibility and status. As civil servants, military officials, or estate supervisors, others still commanded respect as they managed their masters' important obligations. We even have occasional records of slaves owning other slaves.⁷⁸ Regardless of the work they did, we can assume that slaves wanted to be free. In the next chapter, we will examine their efforts to attain freedom.

CHAPTER 6

To Become Free

For, as slavery is the vilest thing in this world except sin, and the most despised, so, on the other hand, is freedom the dearest and most valuable of all benefits.

—*Siete Partidas*, thirteenth century

There is no joy on earth in my opinion so good as regaining one's liberty.

—Miguel de Cervantes, early seventeenth century

Flight

Slaves would certainly have agreed that slavery was vile and freedom dear and valuable. Slaves in every period tried to escape from their masters and from slavery, and flight was a common resort. They always had the option to flee, but that attempt to attain freedom could have only two possible successful outcomes: either the fugitives could try to reach their homes or at least a welcoming country, or they could try to remain undetected in the land of their captors. We have no way of knowing how many slaves succeeded in returning to their homelands or living free lives elsewhere. Almost all the evidence we have comes from the stories of unsuccessful fugitives, who may well have constituted the majority.

The Roman state maintained a system of registration of slaves and rewarded those who informed on fugitives.¹ Fugitive slaves were common enough in the Visigothic kingdom for detailed regulations for dealing with them to be

embodied in the legal code, with rewards for those who returned fugitives and punishments for those who harbored them. Free people who disguised slaves by cutting their long hair, a mark of slavery in Visigothic times, received harsh treatment, as did those who encouraged them to flee. The laws provided that long-term fugitives could attain free status after thirty years had passed, but no doubt few slaves won freedom on those terms. Under King Leovigild (569–586), a law was promulgated that permitted the Arian clergy to force masters to sell slaves who had fled to a church for sanctuary. A priest would buy such slaves, compensate the master, and resell the slaves to other masters assumed to be more benevolent. Individual clerics and the church itself owned slaves. Often Visigothic clerics pursued their own slaves who fled and sought sanctuary in churches. The church council of Lérida in the mid-sixth century prohibited clergy from seizing and whipping their slaves who tried to attain safety in churches. Monasteries had different rules. Although fugitives often must have sought refuge in the monasteries to escape their lay lords, the abbots would not receive them without their masters' permission. Fugitive slaves continued to be perceived as a problem for public order as long as the Visigothic kingdom lasted. In 702, just nine years before the end of the kingdom, King Egica (687–702) enacted draconian penalties for failure to apprehend fugitives.²

The *Siete Partidas*, the thirteenth-century Castilian law code, included laws about the possibility of attaining freedom through a lapse of time. A slave could be considered free if he believed himself to be free and acted as if he were free for ten years if his master was in the country, or twenty years if the master was out of the country; if the master made no claim on him, the slave could be considered free. All this assumed the slave was acting in good faith, but even if he was not, he could be considered free after thirty years.³ One suspects that few slaves actually benefited from these provisions, which echoed those of Roman laws and have a highly theoretical flavor.

Laws in later medieval Christian Spain considered flight to be the theft of one's own person and provided punishments for both the fugitive and those who aided in the escape. In 1376, for example, the proprietor of a Majorcan hostel asked the authorities to apprehend his Tatar slave woman Isabel, who had fled with clothing belonging to the owner, and the free man Jaume Soler, who had helped her flee.⁴ Late medieval Barcelona had severe measures designed to discourage slaves from fleeing their masters. Slaves caught in flight or preparing to flee were to be dragged and then hanged. Those who planned the flight were to be hanged, and people who aided the

slaves in their flight were to have their ears cut off.⁵ It seems improbable that such harsh laws were consistently enforced, and the legislators may well have intended them to frighten and deter potential runaways and those who might consider helping them.

Most late medieval Muslim slaves who attempted to flee chose to cross religious frontiers by land to reach the Muslim kingdom of Granada, or by sea to North Africa. Some, though, crossed from one Christian kingdom to another in hopes of passing as free. From the early fifteenth century in Aragon, a detailed account survives of the unsuccessful attempt at flight by five Muslim slaves at work in building a monastery in the town of Calatayud. When the slaves fled, searchers went in all directions, with little success at first. Then two were recaptured, and they told where the others had gone. One became exhausted from hunger and thirst. Abandoned by the rest, he was recaptured. Two reached Madrid, where they were apprehended. The prior of the monastery and another monk traveled to Madrid to bring them back. Thereafter, the slaves' legs were locked each night in a newly constructed wooden stock so they could not flee again.⁶

Public officials in fifteenth-century Seville pursued fugitives, and owners of runaway slaves offered rewards for their return. A recaptured fugitive in Seville could never thereafter be manumitted, a provision that must have acted as a serious deterrent to those slaves who contemplated flight.⁷ The owners of fugitive slaves were often persistent in pursuing them. In Barcelona in 1400, Francesc Muntornés appointed an agent to try to reclaim his three slaves who had fled six years before.⁸

For Africans and other slaves from distant origins, there was little or no hope of escaping and getting back to their homelands. In 1463 a royal agent in Barcelona ordered Guillem de Barberà, who held the castle of Sant Martí Sarroca, to return a black slave, twenty-five years old, who had fled his owner in Barcelona, the armorer Guillem Sobrer, and ended up in Barberà's castle. His status there was unclear, but he was described as "in the power of" Barberà, so he may not have attained even a temporary freedom.⁹

Still, slaves constantly tried to flee. So concerned were masters in late medieval Barcelona that they purchased insurance against their losses when slaves fled.¹⁰ Often slaves used false documents of manumission available on the black market. Valencia's Muslim slaves often attempted to flee to the coast and contact a Muslim ship or to seek refuge by crossing into the kingdom of Granada, before it came under Christian control in 1492. They also could seek aid in the Muslim communities of Valencia, and after 1492 there were

isolated Muslim or Morisco communities in the mountains of Granada where they might seek help. They could also find support from freedmen living in Spain, who would shelter runaways and at times even give them false letters of manumission. To counter these tendencies, the kingdom's parliament suggested that freed slaves should be required to reside in the places where they had been freed. The procurators additionally asked for large rewards to be paid to those who denounced fugitives.¹¹ The port of Málaga, after its Christian conquest in the late fifteenth century, was a favored destination for fleeing slaves, who hoped to pass themselves off as free and to board a vessel bound for North Africa.¹²

Groups of runaways formed successful communities in the Americas from the sixteenth century onward and held out for decades by taking advantage of underpopulated, harsh terrain and thinly spread government agents. Nothing like that was possible in medieval or early modern times in mainland Iberia or on the islands. Fugitive slaves on the island of Mallorca could not hope to establish hidden communities but tried to escape to North Africa by stealing boats or by joining with the Muslim sea raiders who attacked the coastal communities. Mallorcan officials imposed harsh penalties in an effort to discourage fugitives. Both the fugitives and those who helped them were to be beaten, and positive inducements included the offer of freedom for slaves who denounced other slaves who planned to flee.¹³ In the Canary Islands, fugitives could not hope to evade capture for long, and sure safety lay only in reaching Africa. That, however, required a voyage. Stealing boats was not easy, and, even if the fugitives secured a vessel, they had to know how to sail and to navigate it. Few of the many slaves in the Canaries achieved freedom by flight.¹⁴ One may well have thought he would do so. Pedro was a black slave, aged fifty in 1618, when the Turks carried out a massive raid of the island of Lanzarote, described in an earlier chapter. Pedro found a way to join the raiders and left with them when they began their return to Algiers. A Spanish fleet intercepted seventeen of the raiders' thirty-six ships as they attempted to pass through the Strait of Gibraltar, and Pedro, among others, ended up in Spain. What happened to him there is not recorded, but his owner twice contracted with agents to locate him and bring him back.¹⁵

Accounts of unsuccessful flights abound. Andrés, a slave of African origin, served three masters during his life in Seville: Fernando de Robles, the doctor Nicolás Tello, and don Luis de Guzmán, whose house he fled before he was recaptured in Toledo in 1512.¹⁶ Another African confessed to the Inquisition that he had intended to flee to North Africa and become a Muslim as a first

stage in his journey to return to his homeland, where he intended to become a Christian again because his people there were Christian.¹⁷ The black slave Francisco fled his master in Córdoba in April 1611, reaching as far as the kingdom of Murcia before being caught and returned in November of 1613.¹⁸ In his study of the early seventeenth-century town of Martos, Manuel López Molina found no successful cases of flight, and three in which those who attempted to flee were caught and returned.¹⁹ As another example of an unsuccessful flight, in 1680 a slave named Miguel de Dios fled from the city of Jaén and ended up in custody in Córdoba. His owner sent an agent to Córdoba to sell the fugitive at the market price. Miguel de Dios may well have fled before and been recaptured, as he had brand marks on his nose and between his eyebrows.²⁰

Slaves in Portugal also tried to flee their masters. Flight there, too, was generally ineffective, primarily because a slave would have to reach Africa to find a haven. One party, whose members seized a ship and tried to sail to Africa, misjudged their position, put in to shore near Setúbal, and were captured nearby. There were extradition treaties with Castile, so that escaped slaves would be returned if they crossed the borders, and Portuguese agents could enter Castile to apprehend runaways. The laws also provided rewards for informers and penalties for those who aided fugitives.²¹

These examples have been of slaves fleeing from Christian owners. There are counter-examples of the flight of Christian captives and slaves from Muslim control, some of which we saw in Chapter 2. In the fifteenth century a number of Christians fled from captivity in Granada. In 1412 two young captives spent eight days digging from their basement prison to the open air. After their escape twelve other captives used the same tunnel to reach freedom. In 1442, four Christians took advantage of their jailer's drunken stupor to flee from the royal prison in Granada, somehow avoiding the jailer's mastiffs. In 1448, forty-seven men escaped from their Granadan prison, and most reached Christian Spain.²²

Obtaining freedom by flight was thus a risky proposition. For early modern lower Andalucía, as one example, there is no documentation that any fugitive was ever successful.²³ The legal path to freedom led to manumission, but even there the way was neither smooth nor easily followed.

Manumission

Slaves did not always live hopeless lives, despite their total dependence and lack of legal standing, and despite the fact that their masters could abuse them.

In practice, slaves could negotiate small improvements in their daily lives and could initiate processes that eventually led many of them to freedom.

Manumissions in Roman times were quite frequent, beginning under the Republic while Iberia was still being Romanized. The citizens of many vanquished towns found themselves enslaved. After the resistance was over, the Romans sought to gain popular support whenever possible and freed many of those formerly enslaved. Consequently, many Iberians in the early Roman period began life as free men, then spent a period as slaves, and finally were freed.²⁴

Throughout the Roman period, individual manumissions were the normal way slaves gained their freedom. A small measure of security for some Roman slaves came from the fund of money under the slave's control, the *peculium*. It formed the slave's working capital, derived from gifts, a portion of the wages a slave might receive from working outside the home, tips from guests, or savings from the slave's allowance. Though legally the fund belonged to the master, the slave could use the *peculium* for investments and ultimately accumulate enough to purchase freedom. Manumissions for private slaves were ordinarily the master's prerogative. Masters could choose to manumit during their lifetimes or by testaments providing manumission after their deaths. Slave owners had many reasons for allowing slaves to be manumitted. They might grant freedom as a reward for good service, to free a woman slave to marry, or to grant a dying slave a last request. Pagan writers and later Christian ones counseled masters to free slaves as a pious act, but practical reasons were more probably decisive. Masters customarily forced slaves to purchase their freedom. The master who received his slave's market value as the price of freedom could use the proceeds to purchase a younger slave to replace the freedman, who still owed him obligations. The most inhumane masters manumitted aged or disabled slaves to starve in the streets or be maintained by the state.²⁵

Roman writers and some modern scholars depicted manumission as a system for the benefit of the slaves, but it was also a tool the owners used to keep their slaves in line. Masters held out the possibility of manumission to their slaves and in return demanded docile comportment, a payment for manumission, and continued deference by their freed slaves. Masters thus possessed powerful tools for controlling their slaves as they manipulated the slaves' longing for freedom.²⁶

The Roman legal system provided mechanisms for slaves to gain their freedom through the direct intervention of the state, without the need for

the master's permission. Slaves who revealed a crime—by denouncing deserters, illegal coiners, libelous writers, and rapists of virgins or widows—were considered to have rendered services to the state and could therefore be free. Slaves could also gain freedom if their master overstepped the limits of what the state considered permissible harm inflicted on his slave. The state could intervene if masters castrated male slaves, exposed sick or disabled slaves, or forced female slaves into prostitution.²⁷ Such laws probably provided only a relatively few slaves with their freedom. Most slaves who became free used their limited bargaining power to persuade their masters to grant them freedom, even while acquiescing in the dominance the masters had over them. Manumission continued over the centuries of the Roman Empire, along with the practice of providing gifts or bequests to the newly freed for their support. Manumission contracts always provided that the slave would hold his former master as a patron, and at times they included clauses requiring him to work for his former master on special terms.²⁸

In the Visigothic period, manumission was still the safest path to freedom. Authorities of the church, not the state, performed most manumissions; this marked a departure from the Roman past. A Visigothic master could make a written grant of freedom. He could also manumit a slave by proclaiming in the presence of witnesses that the slave was free. Manumissions by testament continued from Roman times. In such a case, the act had to be confirmed by three to five witnesses within six months. Often slaves exchanged one form of servitude for another lighter one, when they were freed upon entrance into one of the rural estates as dependent laborers. Unlike Roman times, emancipation could be revoked for actions the Visigothic masters deemed unacceptable, principally ingratitude. Finally, the freed slaves usually were subject to certain legal disabilities, as the Roman freedmen had been.²⁹

Although most emancipations came from the actions of the masters, Visigothic laws also prescribed manumissions without the master's approval in a limited number of cases. Slaves who had lived a free life for fifty years could petition for legal freedom, but the long period involved surely restricted the number of individuals who could take advantage of the provision. Slaves who denounced counterfeiters could be freed, as could those who twice had been sold abroad.³⁰ Visigothic lawmakers made efforts to restrict Jewish slaveholding and proselytizing. Jews could not hold Christian slaves, and any slave whose Jewish master converted him to Judaism could for that reason be freed.³¹

Slaves could win their freedom in a variety of ways according to Islamic law. Manumission was an act of piety counseled by the Qur'ān: "free those

slaves you possess who wish to buy their freedom after a written undertaking.”³² Masters were encouraged to free slaves as acts of piety or of expiation for the masters’ transgressions.³³ As in Roman times, a slave could be manumitted by testament or by specific act during the master’s life. The master could agree to allow the slave to purchase freedom and to permit him the right to work to earn his purchase price. At the time of manumission, the newly freed slave had to be given a sufficient amount of money or other material goods to allow for his or her support. In the Malikite (*Mālikī*) interpretation of Islamic law, dominant in al-Andalus, when a master and his slave agreed to a contract to allow the slave to purchase his or her freedom on the installment plan, the slave enjoyed a status somewhere between full servitude and complete freedom. He or she could work independently and buy and sell goods and real property free of the master’s control, although the master could still deny the slave permission to travel. Any children born to the slave during the period of the contract were also in a similar intermediate status and received full freedom when the contract was paid.³⁴ As in the medieval Christian world, charities in the world of Islam had ransoming captives and freeing slaves as a duty prescribed in the Qur’ān.³⁵

Some circumstances brought automatic emancipations in Muslim Iberia. A slave mistress who bore children to the master gained privileges and attained freedom on his death. After the mid-eighth century, bearing her master’s child elevated a slave woman to the status of an *umm walad*, as we saw in Chapter 4. As such, she could not be sold or otherwise removed from the master’s household, and when the master died she would be free. Her children could be free from birth. Slaves who performed meritorious acts could be freed by the state, and maltreated slaves could petition a judge to expedite their manumission. Slaves who came to be owned by a relative were on that basis freed, as for example, if a master’s will left slave children to a previously freed father.³⁶ After emancipation, the freed person was the client of his former master’s family, who provided protection and patronage in return for certain services or payments. In effect, the client was a legal member of the former owner’s family.³⁷

In thirteenth-century Christian Castile, the introduction to the *Siete Partidas*’s section on manumission put it: “All creatures in the world naturally love and desire liberty, and much more do men, who have intelligence superior to that of the others.”³⁸ One law in the same section stated: “For, as slavery is the vilest thing in this world except sin, and the most despised, so, on the other hand, is freedom the dearest and most valuable of all benefits.”³⁹ But slaves who wanted freedom had to defer to their owners, who, in normal

circumstances, were the only ones able to grant freedom. The *Siete Partidas* specified the ways the master could free his slaves.

This liberty can be granted by a master to his slave, in church or out of it, before a judge, or anywhere else, by will or without a will, or by a written instrument. He should, however, do this himself, and not by an attorney, except where he orders some of those in his direct line to do so. It is necessary when he frees a slave by a written instrument, or in the presence of his friends, to do so before five witnesses.⁴⁰

These legal provisions, incorporated into later legislation in Spain and the Spanish colonies, offered the slaves some protection from their complete dependence on their masters. As legal codes are not always accurate guides to actual behavior, we must turn to what we know about the historical experience of slaves and their owners and how closely that reality coincided with the laws.

Manumission in late medieval and early modern Castile was called *ahorramiento*. Freed slaves were called *horros*, and the documents granting their freedom were called *cartas de ahorría* or *cartas de horro*. These words came Latin “allfora,” which in turn resembled the Arabic “al-ḥurr” (freed), “harrar” meant to free, and “harra” meant to free oneself or to be free.⁴¹ Freed slaves could run into real difficulties if they could not produce the proper documents, and they and their former masters made sure that the manumission documents were available. In 1533 the widow Constanza Núñez of Baza, a town near Granada, went before a notary to reconfirm the freeing of her former slave Leonor de Alcaraz, because the papers of the notary who registered the original manumission had been dispersed and lost following the notary’s death.⁴²

The granting of freedom was almost always the master’s prerogative, but there were some exceptions. The *Siete Partidas* followed Roman law in providing for the emancipation of slaves without the master’s approval in cases of the master’s misdeeds or of the slave’s service to the kingdom. Masters who placed women slaves in prostitution could have their slaves confiscated and freed.⁴³ Some authors report that masters who castrated their men slaves would be punished and the victim freed. In fact, the *Siete Partidas* provided less for the slave. Those who castrated free men were to be punished as if they had committed homicide, but if a master castrated a slave, he could only be punished by the confiscation of the slave. The slave, in turn, would become the

property of the royal treasury, not freed.⁴⁴ Services to the kingdom for which a slave could be freed included reporting the rape or abduction of a virgin, denouncing a counterfeiter, or informing on frontier guards who abandoned their posts. In these cases, the master would be compensated for his loss of the slave. Slaves who denounced the murder of their masters or revealed treason against the state could be freed with no compensation to their masters.⁴⁵

According to the *Siete Partidas*, slaves who received holy orders could be freed if the master knew and consented. If he neither knew nor consented, things became more complicated. He had only a year and no longer to complain. If the slave had become a subdeacon, the master could claim him and return him to slavery. If the slave had become a deacon or a priest, the master could not reclaim him as a slave, but the former slave had to pay the master a sum equivalent to his market price at the time of ordination or provide him with another slave of equal value. If the slave became a bishop, he would have to provide his master with two slaves of an equivalent value to his own at the time of his ordination.⁴⁶ I suspect that the jurists who wrote the *Siete Partidas* were merely repeating earlier provisions dating back to the early centuries of Christianity and that few if any late medieval slaves won their freedom in that way.

Public and church authorities could and did free slaves when they determined that the circumstances warranted. For example, clerical and royal officials in the Balearic Islands in the fifteenth century freed Greek Orthodox slaves on the grounds that free Christians should not be enslaved.⁴⁷ Following the conquest of the Canaries, as we saw earlier, bands of native Canarians signed treaties that made their members legally exempt from enslavement, but members of the conquered, non-treaty groups could be enslaved as captives of "good war." Members of allied bands who later rebelled or refused to carry out the terms of their treaties were liable to enslavement as "captives of second war." Despite watchfulness by royal officials, the conquerors at times violated the rules and enslaved members of the treaty bands. The Spanish monarchs Fernando and Isabel had their officials in the islands investigate and free those improperly enslaved, many of whom had advocates in the local bishops or their own families, who hired attorneys to take the plea to the royal court.⁴⁸ As an example, in 1491 the royal council compensated Fernando González, the fortress governor of Gibraltar, for his loss when the bishop of the Canary Islands declared a Canarian slave whom González had purchased to be free.⁴⁹ Similar misunderstandings could find Muslims enslaved in the Canaries. Around 1501, a group of some twenty-four Moroccan Muslims went to the island of Gran Canaria with the governor's guarantee of free movement

through the island. Within two years, a new governor made them captives, including some members of the group who had converted to Christianity. They later appealed to Queen Juana, whose government responded by declaring that all the Christians of the group were to be free. The remaining Muslims could take thirty days to decide if they wished to convert as well. If they did convert, they could remain in the islands; if they chose not to convert, they could return freely to North Africa.⁵⁰

Similar practices operated in the Crown of Aragon, where, as in Castile, the laws relied on Roman legal practice and precedent.⁵¹ Merchants brought slaves from many origins to the prominent commercial center of Valencia, but before they could be sold, an official called the chief bailiff (*bayle general*) had to register them and collect the royal tax. Some slaves used the occasion of the bailiff's interview to assert that they were really free and should not be sold. Those who could prove their cases were freed; those who could not were sold.⁵²

Manumission in Portugal, as in other societies, was a popular and secure method of attaining freedom, and by the sixteenth century the population of freed slaves amounted to some 10 percent of the slave population. The manumission document was called the *carta de alforria*, usually given only by the master himself, either in his lifetime or by will. Manumissions were sometimes freely given, but more often certain conditions had to be fulfilled: payment or an agreement for continued service after freed status had been attained.⁵³

Even the Spanish Inquisition could become interested in the fate of individual slaves.⁵⁴ Slaves who denounced false converts could be freed.⁵⁵ In the middle of the seventeenth century, the officials of the Inquisition in the Canaries petitioned the king to allow them to free a black slave named Herbas. His master was Duarte Enríquez, whom the Inquisition had convicted of secretly practicing Judaism while outwardly living as a Christian. The slave, on the other hand, was thoroughly Christian, and the officials sought a royal order to free him, "because in these islands no one knows that Christian slaves become free because of the heresy of their owners, and accordingly the said slave had not sought his freedom nor talked to anyone about it."⁵⁶

Not all cases show the Inquisition in such a positive light. In 1583 a converted slave woman of Muslim origin was hauled before the Inquisition in Mallorca on charges of having said she hoped the Muslims would capture her. Her story, it turned out, was that her owner had promised to free both her and her daughter if she would convert. She did so, and the owner even gave her a letter of manumission but then sent her to be sold in Minorca. That was

the source of her frustration and the occasion of her bitter statement that she hoped the Muslims would capture her on the way.⁵⁷

Secular courts also heard cases of contested servile status. In 1685 the lawsuit of Ana Hurtado, a freed black woman of the town of Alhaurín, near Málaga, reached the chancellery of Granada, the court of appeals for southern Spain. In the suit, the woman demanded that the owners of her two enslaved daughters should immediately free them. The basis of her case was that her mother had been born and sold in Angola, a Christian country, and that as Christians neither her mother, nor the plaintiff herself, nor her daughters, should have been enslaved. She won the case.⁵⁸

The laws that we have just examined and the actions of public officials based on them probably produced only a limited number of freed slaves over the long run. Most slaves who reached freedom did so because their owners chose to manumit them. Even though the decision to grant freedom was the master's, there were methods that slaves could use to try to obtain manumission. All slaves had some degree of agency, and many worked hard to maximize their chances of obtaining freedom. Among the strategies that slaves in Christian Spain used to attain freedom, one of the first steps was to adopt the dominant religion. If a Jewish or Muslim slave became a Christian, that did not automatically bring freedom. Castilian laws enforced social norms and expectations concerning the holding of slaves across religious lines. According to the *Siete Partidas*, non-Christians could not own Christian slaves, and, for knowingly violating the rule, a non-Christian master could be executed and all his property confiscated by the state. If non-Christian masters held non-Christian slaves who converted to Christianity, they could see their slaves go free and could expect no compensation. Even if the master subsequently became a Christian, he would lose any slaves who converted before he did.⁵⁹ The religious diversity in late medieval Valencia, with its communities of Christians, Jews, and Muslims, and the official favor for Christianity posed complications for slavery. The monarchs would not permit non-Christian masters to hold Christian slaves. If a Muslim slave of a Jewish owner converted to Christianity, royal officials took the slave from his owner and assigned the baptized Moor to work for a Christian until he could pay for his manumission. If he could not do so within two months, the officials could arrange to have the new convert work for the king until he had repaid his ransom.⁶⁰

If Christian masters owned non-Christian slaves, baptism alone would not free them; their master still had to agree to their manumissions. Nothing

obliged Christian masters to free slaves who converted. They could continue to hold converted slaves, and many did. On the other hand, a slave's conversion was a usual first step toward manumission. Owners might sell their Muslim slaves or allow them to buy their freedom, but the slaves freed by testament were almost always exclusively Christians, converted as adults, or baptized as infants in the case of those born in the home.

In the vast majority of cases of manumission in Christian Iberia, slaves attained freedom because the owner chose to grant that freedom. The simplest way was by means of a document drawn up by a notary. An example from the late sixteenth century in lower Andalusia shows the standard form.

Let all who see this letter know that I, Lázaro Martín Cordero, citizen and native of Huelva, say that for as much as I have love and good will toward Ginés de la Cruz, my captive slave, son of Ginesa, my captive slave now deceased, for at present you are seventeen years of age, mulatto in color, with a good body, without a beard, with the scar of a wound over the left eyebrow, and because your mother during her lifetime gave and paid me for your liberty the sum of 25 ducats, I therefore am content and waive the bond and proof of payment, mindful of what is said above and for the service of God Our Lord and to do mercy, I grant and acknowledge by this present letter that I liberate and free you, the said Ginés de la Cruz, my slave, from the subjugation and captivity and service that you are under as my slave, and I set you apart from me and from my possessions and those of my heirs, and I give you full power, as is required by law, to be and live on your own and with whomever you wish, and to be present and appear in courts of justice, and to do as you please, and establish legal documents and wills and name heirs and get married, and the children you have will be legitimate and without any obligation of service, to leave and bequeath your goods, those that you have now and have later, to your sons and heirs, and in all the other things and circumstances that a man can and should do, you can act freely in them without any penalty or slander.⁶¹

Manumissions also could be specified in the wills the owners drew up. In an example from Mallorca in 1267, Pere Calafat provided for the freeing of his slaves when he prepared his will. One of its provisions stated:

I call, make and designate Pere the Baptized, and Romia the Baptized, sister of the same Pere the Baptized, my slaves, free, liberated, quit, and freed, so that they can come and go, stay, and remain wherever they desire without bond, restriction, and objection. . . . Moreover, I leave to the said Pere the Baptized ten sous, and to the said Romia the Baptized twenty sous.⁶²

Frequently the owner arranged that the slave would provide compensation either by money or by continued service. In Barcelona in 1395, the Turkish slave woman Elena received her freedom from the widow Eulalia but had to serve her for two years after the manumission.⁶³ As an example of the requirement of continued service, in Córdoba in 1584 the widow of a public official freed her slave Andrés de Córdoba with the provision that for as long as she lived he had to come to her house on Sundays and holidays to serve her.⁶⁴ On the island of Lanzarote, Captain Rodrigo de Barrios Leme freed his slave María, age twenty, on the condition that she continue to serve his sons for four years.⁶⁵

Freedom by purchase was a common pattern, especially for manumissions made during the lifetime of the owner, rather than by will. The price demanded was usually high, normally above market prices, and the prices for women slaves were usually higher than for men.⁶⁶

Some slaves bought their own freedom. In the late medieval Crown of Aragon, slave owners and slaves used the *talla*, a contract that allowed for the purchase of freedom on the installment plan. The master and the slave contracted on the total purchase price and on the monthly payments the slave was to make. The term of the contract was usually quite long, often six or seven years or more. The slave who made such a contract entered an intermediary stage between slavery and full freedom, described in Latin as “in statu libero” or “in statu libertatis.” Contracts providing for *talla* payments replaced most contracts calling for continued service by the mid-fifteenth century in Barcelona. The *talla* slave could work outside the home with the permission of the master as to the terms of the work. They had more freedom of movement than ordinary slaves, but the municipal authorities of Barcelona, as one example, restricted their movements at night.⁶⁷

Legally, anything and everything the slaves had belonged to the master, including any money they earned. In these circumstances, how did they get the money to pay for their manumission? They often earned extra money by working outside the home with the master’s permission. In fifteenth-century Mallorca, owners allowed some of their slaves to live independently and to

pay a portion of their income to the owner until they attained the full price of freedom.⁶⁸ If they could not raise the full amount, they could also borrow what was necessary, either from the master or a third party, and they could pay it back by payments over time.⁶⁹ Many of the installment contracts called for manumission only after all the money had been paid, but there were others in which the manumission took place before the slave paid the full amount.⁷⁰ As one example, the mulatto slave Gabriel, born in Granada in the home of his mistress, purchased his freedom in 1567 when he was twenty-seven. He agreed to pay a ducat each month for four years, and if he failed to keep up the payments, he would return to being a slave.⁷¹ In Córdoba in 1574, doña Urraca de Sandoval agreed to permit her woman slave to work outside the house for the next two years in order to raise the sixty ducats she needed for her manumission. The slave was obligated to remain in the city and to pay half the sum at the end of one year and the rest at the end of the second year.⁷² In 1552, a member of the city council of Lucena offered freedom on the installment plan to his slave Magdalena for fifty ducats, with half down and half to be paid over ten years while she still worked for him. By this arrangement, the owner got assured labor for ten years as well as the price of his slave.⁷³

Almanzor, a North African slave who was forty years old in 1567, had been freed with a letter of manumission containing an agreement for him to pay his master in Granada 140 ducats. He was able to pay 60, and when he found himself unable to make additional payments, he fled to North Africa. Captured again in Spanish-held Oran, he ended up back in Spain in Málaga's public jail. In the meantime, his owner had died and his widow was remarried. Ownership had passed to the couple's two children, who each inherited a half interest in Almanzor. They recovered Almanzor, but could not sell him because of the terms of the original letter. They reached a new agreement with him, selling him for the 80 ducats remaining, and he was guaranteed that he would obtain his freedom when he had accumulated the required sum.⁷⁴

Other slaves raised money for their manumissions by begging.⁷⁵ In late medieval Valencia and Alicante, the chief bailiff could grant slaves a license to beg, a *lletra d'acapte*, until the money was raised for the manumission.⁷⁶ Throughout the kingdom of Valencia, Mudejars could receive permission to seek alms to secure their own freedom or the freedom of their kin.⁷⁷ In 1510, the widow of a silversmith in Córdoba gave her white slave María, fifty years of age, permission to go begging for seven months in the hope of raising the 6,500 maravedís she still owned on her price of manumission of 10,000 maravedís.⁷⁸ After a similar agreement, another slave took the opportunity to flee

once she obtained the permission to beg. In 1511, Isabel Fernández of Seville reported that she had allowed her white slave Isabel, thirty-five years old and a native of Málaga, to seek alms for a period of a year and a half to pay for her manumission. The slave had gone to a small town near Málaga and had not returned to Seville, even though the time limit had passed.⁷⁹ Other slaves might turn to crime to secure the money needed to secure their manumissions. In the early fifteenth century, Barcelona had ordinances designed to keep slaves from prostituting themselves, as some were doing so to buy their way out of slavery.⁸⁰ In the Canaries in 1536 there were complaints that slaves were robbing to secure the money for their manumissions.⁸¹

If a slave could not pay, others might, for a variety of reasons. Mothers often bought the freedom of their slave children, as did fathers of their own slave children.⁸² In Majorca in 1394, Antoni Reixac purchased his five-year-old son Lluís, whose mother was the slave woman Lluçia, owned by the widow Margalida.⁸³ In 1549 García de Paredes, a free man of the town of Baza in the kingdom of Granada, purchased the freedom of his son Gabriel, aged fifteen months, for fifteen ducats from the widow Catalina de Cordoncillo, who owned the child's mother, Isabel.⁸⁴ In the Canaries, free men could purchase and free their children by slave women by outright purchase, by substituting a slave of similar value, or by providing the owner with labor services.⁸⁵ Perhaps some of these purchases by free men were designed to protect the reputation of the owner who was the true father of the child in question. Men paid for manumission of future wives. The *Siete Partidas* provided that a slave, man or woman, could become free by marrying a free person if the master knew and approved of the match. When a master married his own slave, she became free. Interestingly, nothing in the law provided for a slave man to be free if he married the free woman who owned him.⁸⁶

In late sixteenth-century Huelva, most slaves were freed at an early age, most between one and ten years old. The records suggest, though they do not state explicitly, that most of the manumitted were the children of free fathers.⁸⁷ A barber in sixteenth-century Granada, in the document recording his purchase of a slave girl named María, recognized and revealed that he had had sexual relations with María's mother, a Morisca slave owned by a local merchant, and that the child was his. With his wife's explicit support, the barber arranged to purchase and free his daughter.⁸⁸ On Lanzarote in 1623, a widow freed a slave girl born in the household who was the daughter of the widow's late husband, "according to what is said," noted the widow.⁸⁹ In Cádiz in the early eighteenth century, a free black man, Antonio José, purchased the

freedom of his legitimate wife, María Nicolasa, and their son, Pedro Pablo, from a Flemish resident of the city, Juan Bautista Crof.⁹⁰

Free Canarians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries frequently aided their enslaved compatriots to obtain freedom, and in numerous wills Canarians left money to executors charged with the redemption of Canarian slaves. The executor could purchase the slave outright, or he could purchase a black slave and exchange him or her for the Canarian. Such exchanges were more easily arranged for slaves who remained in the islands, because relatives had difficulty in determining the whereabouts of those who had been sold in European markets.⁹¹

Slaves could also persuade their masters to free them by the terms of a last will and testament. As we have seen, some slaves won approval because of who they were—children born in the household, for example, especially if the master was the father. Other slaves patterned their behavior in ways designed to win the approval of their owners. The provisions for manumissions in wills usually contained pious statements that the manumission was due to the great love that the owner had for the slave. An exception was the will of Pere Valcanell in Valencia in 1501. He freed his two slaves not because of their good behavior but despite their bad behavior, “because giving freedom to slaves is an act of piety and mercy.”⁹² We should be wary about accepting these statements at face value, for many of the testators placed conditions on the manumission, as we have seen. Some owners required the slave to make a monetary payment to the estate in exchange for freedom. More often, they required the slave to continue rendering service for a number of years. Nevertheless, other wills often provided for liberations without conditions and even with small inheritances.⁹³ On the island of Majorca, testators frequently left money to slaves to help them to purchase their freedom.⁹⁴ In Tenerife in the early sixteenth century, one master made an agreement with his white woman slave, a Morisca, to serve him in honest work while he lived. In return he would provide her with food, clothing, shoes, and an honest life. After he died, the woman would be free.⁹⁵ In 1528, Pedro de Vergara of Tenerife in the Canary Islands freed two Canarian slaves, Pedro and Juan de Abona, because they had become Christians and because each had paid him sixty Castilian *doblas*, a perfect example of the contemporary mixture of religious and economic motivations.⁹⁶

Slave children born in the home were often well integrated into the life of the family, even more than their mothers, for their fathers often were free men of the same household. Examples abound of such children being freed when

their mothers were not. This was the case of the slave Inés, daughter of the slave Juana, owned by a widow, doña Beatriz de Angulo of Córdoba, who left instructions for Inés's well-being in her will of 1524. Until she reached fifteen, she was to live in the household of Beatriz's sister in Écija. When Inés reached fifteen years of age, she was to be freed and given 10,000 maravedís and a bed.⁹⁷ Sometimes freedom was not an unmixed blessing. In 1526, the pregnant slave Catalina was about to leave for Cuba with her master, the priest Alvaro de Castro. Castro freed Catalina's unborn child because the mother would have to be separated from her husband, also Castro's slave, who had to stay behind in Seville.⁹⁸

The rate of manumission was generally low, despite the availability of the many possible paths to freedom. Alfonso Franco Silva called the rate of manumission in late medieval Seville "frequent," although he also asserted elsewhere that many slaves lived all their lives under one master and never attained freedom.⁹⁹ Aurelia Martín Casares, after an exhaustive search of the sixteenth-century archival documents for Granada, found a total of 1,600 documents recording slave sales but only 200 manumissions.¹⁰⁰ For early seventeenth-century Córdoba, Albert N'Damba uncovered references to 2,684 slaves and only 198 freeings.¹⁰¹ Manuel López Molina in the documents for the town of Martos found 211 cases of slavery in the documents and only 13 cases in which freedom was attained. For Jaén in the late seventeenth century, the same historian found ninety cases of slavery in the documents, and only eight slaves who became free, all by the concession of the master.¹⁰² For the town of Lucena, Françoise Orsini-Avila found a clear evolution over the century and a half after 1500. In the period 1550–1570, no manumissions at all appeared in the extant documents. From 1570 to 1600 there were very few, and all involved elderly slaves. In the first half of the seventeenth century, with slavery declining, the number of manumissions grew. In the second half of that century, slavery declined even more, and manumissions grew accordingly, when second- and third-generation slaves born in the household obtained their freedom.¹⁰³

Few slaves could expect to be freed in their early adult years. For Granada, Aurelia Martín Casares found that most of the manumitted were children under ten years of age or adults over thirty. Alfonso Franco Silva found that most of those manumitted in Seville were people below eighteen or over thirty. Similar patterns have emerged in most other parts of Iberia.¹⁰⁴ Thus it seems that masters freed slaves who were of little immediate economic benefit and held on to slaves in their working prime, freeing those who were younger, older, or ailing. There is a long list of writers who

criticized freeing aged and infirm slaves, stretching back to classical times. The master's motive for freeing his slave is not clear from the wording of this document: "and he has served me for over forty years with good and loyal service, and in respect to that, and for the love and good will that I have toward him" he was to be freed.¹⁰⁵ The "love and good will" might have been genuine, but we could also assume that after forty years the slave had little service left to give. In Seville in 1525 the slave Inés, white and forty-four years old, gained her freedom, as her master reported, "because she is of great age and sick and of little use and because she gave eighteen ducats for her freedom."¹⁰⁶ In 1617 the merchant Juan de Bargas of Córdoba acceded to the request of his Moorish slave Jamete to be freed. Jamete was about thirty-six, missing an upper tooth, and marked with a brand on his right arm. At the time, he was sick and so lame he could not stand on his feet. Obviously, he could not work, and Bargas freed him after seeking and failing to find a buyer for him.¹⁰⁷ Jamete, like other ailing slaves who found freedom, could have met with any of several fates, as we will see later.

Slaves could go to court or seek the aid of public officials if their promised freedom had not been delivered. In numerous court cases brought by slaves or their advocates, plaintiffs protested that agreed-upon manumissions were not carried out or that individuals had been illegally enslaved.¹⁰⁸ The story of Inés, a black woman, illustrates the difficulty some slaves had in getting their freedom even after it had been given. Her Valencian master, Pedro González Docón, freed her by the terms of his will, but his heir sold her to a man from Málaga. When she told the purchaser that she was free, he returned her to a man named Frutos, who had guaranteed the sale. Thereafter she lived with Frutos for four years until he gave her to a merchant for sale again in Valencia. This time she told the market examiner that she was really free, and the chief bailiff kept her from being sold until the facts could be determined.¹⁰⁹ In seventeenth-century Badajoz, a black man named Antonio sued because his first master had verbally promised him his freedom and then had given him to another owner. The case reached the royal chancellery in Granada, but the document did not state the outcome of the appeal.¹¹⁰ The *Siete Partidas* said that if a slave were owned by more than one master and if only one of the masters wanted to free the slave, the slave could be freed.¹¹¹ Membership in religious confraternities, mentioned in previous chapters, could also provide benefits for slaves who found themselves in disputes regarding their manumission. The officials of the *cofradía* of Nuestra Señora de Gracia in fifteenth-century Valencia intervened in several such cases.¹¹²

Life as a Freed Slave

In all periods, freed slaves suffered legal and social disabilities and usually did not enjoy the full rights of the freely born. This was especially clear in Roman times. Unless specific provisions were made at the time of manumission, the newly freed slave was not a Roman citizen.¹¹³ Nor was he or she free from ties to the former master. Freed slaves (*liberti* in Latin) were tied to their former masters in a client-patron relationship and owed them *obsequium*, that is, deference and continued social obligations. If the patron died, his heirs became patrons of the freed slaves. The children of freed slaves were also freedmen and the parent's patron was their patron, too. The links were broken in the third generation; the freed slave's grandchildren were fully free and no longer under patronage.¹¹⁴ Some freedmen became very wealthy and displayed their wealth with great ostentation. Other former slaves of the state (public *liberti*) attained high bureaucratic and administrative positions.

In Visigothic times as well, there were two varieties of freedmen: those with full emancipation and citizenship, and those who still retained obligations toward their former masters. In the reign of King Sisebut, Jews were forced to manumit their slaves and were required to grant them full freedom. The freedmen in these categories were no doubt statistically few. Most freedmen received a freedom that was limited by the bonds of duties they still owed to their masters.¹¹⁵

Even in much later times, masters and legislators expected freed slaves to render complete respect to their former masters and the masters' families. Freed slaves thus still had legal disabilities; they were not slaves but did not enjoy the full rights of the freeborn.¹¹⁶ A law in the *Siete Partidas* explained that freed slaves "should humble themselves and salute whenever they appear before [their former master] and his children, and every time their master comes where they are, if they are seated, they should rise and welcome him pleasantly." In practical matters, the freed person should not take the former master into court, save with a judge's permission, and should do what was necessary to protect the former master's property. If the master fell on hard times, the freed person "should go to his assistance, and give him food, drink, clothing, and shoes according to his means and ability."¹¹⁷ The thirteenth-century jurists backed this up with a law providing that the freed person could be returned to slavery for failure to carry out the provisions regarding proper behavior.¹¹⁸

Examples of reenslavement are very rare. One appeared in Toledo in 1289, when a former slave named García was returned to slavery for his failure to

comply with the terms of his manumission document.¹¹⁹ That this sort of situation continued is apparent in manumission documents for Toledo in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and also applied in late medieval Barcelona, where different law codes operated.¹²⁰ In the early seventeenth century Bartolomé de Albillos, a lawyer in the town of Martos, revoked the manumission of his former slave, explicitly and correctly citing the *Siete Partidas*.

Law [9], title 22, of the fourth Partida gives the former master the ability to revoke the manumission and reduce to servitude the slave whom he had freed. . . . The said Ana has been ungrateful for the favor that I granted her and on numerous occasions she has sorely wounded me by word and also hitting me with her hands because I am seen to be old, sick, and weak and I cannot control or punish her. . . . [Therefore] I revoke the manumission document for the reasons I have declared . . . and reduce her to her former state of servitude and slavery.¹²¹

Abillos went on to state that Ana would be freed again on his death. Ana was pregnant when reenslaved, and Abillos stated that the child she produced would be free from birth.

Freed slaves did not have easy lives. As women often were not prepared to hold salaried jobs after they became free, the perceived danger was that they would fall into illegal activities once manumitted unless alternative provisions were in place. Thus when their owners freed slave women by will, they often provided a dowry to enable the new freedwomen to marry or to live honestly.¹²² In the early seventeenth century, Juan Hurtado del Val of the town of Lucena left a fine legacy in his will to his slave Leonor, a North African woman of forty years of age with two children of twenty-one and ten. She was to receive a new house, vineyards, olive groves, wheat land, the chest that she used to store her clothes, and 200 ducats in cash. She was charged to pray for the souls of her masters. A potential danger for Leonor was that all this would not come to her until Hurtado del Val's wife died.¹²³

Many freed slaves were very poor and had to depend on charity, obtained either by begging or in charity hospitals. That was no doubt the fate of an Algerian slave named Addra Jamán, freed by his owner, the convent-hospital of Nuestra Señora Santa Ana in Cartagena. He probably originally was a war captive, for royal officials gave him to the hospital. For years he had worked as an orderly, helping to bathe the sick. He had reached an advanced age and

could no longer work without accidents, and was summarily freed in 1724. We do not know the fate of an unnamed slave freed by a private owner in Cartagena in 1723. The owner reported that the slave had reached the age of 102 years and had served faithfully for years. The owner also reported that he was skeptical about the freed slave's future. The documents are silent on that point.¹²⁴ The fate of the centenarian freedman could have been to seek the shelter of a public hospital or to remain in the owner's household in retirement. In a case in early modern Jaén, doña Mariana de Monslave freed her slave Catalina, but obliged her to continue to serve in the family, who "must assume the obligation of feeding her and giving her food, clothing, and shoes within my house, because outside it and not in service, she would not have anything to eat or clothing or shoes."¹²⁵ Many Portuguese freedmen were very poor.¹²⁶

The questions of the lives of the newly manumitted slaves and the degree of their integration into the larger society are obviously crucial points in the study of the history of slavery.¹²⁷ In the late Middle Ages, many of the former slaves of North African or Spanish Muslim origin left for Muslim Granada or North Africa after they received manumission. Others, particularly those who had converted to Christianity, blended into the larger community, as did those of Eastern European origin. For the sub-Saharan Africans and their progeny, the situation was different. They found their acceptance incomplete, due in part to their easily recognized skin color or other indications of their origins. They tended to reside in well-defined areas, not totally segregated but commonly associated with slaves and other freed people. In Jaén in the early modern period, the freed population still resided in a part of town centered on the street called "Berberiscos," a name derived from the term often used to designate slaves from North Africa.¹²⁸ Nonetheless, they did what they could to blend in through their work, which in most cases was no different from that of white people of similar incomes and social standing, and through religion.¹²⁹ Religious practice and the communal bonds associated with it allowed former slaves to achieve their most complete acceptance by the wider community, as we saw in Chapter 4.

Few documents allow a look at the life of freed slaves, but the will of Catalina Sureda, a freedwoman of Mallorca, written in 1532, indicated the fortune she had accumulated. She owned the building in which she lived and conducted her business of making parchment. She had several chests full of clothes, bedclothes, and table linen. She slept in a covered bed and dressed before a large mirror. She owned a marble image of the Virgin

Mary, a carpet, a tin candelabra, and decorated curtains. She also was a wool-spinner and a money-lender, and owned another house in the leather-workers' neighborhood.¹³⁰

Juan Latino was an even more successful ex-slave. His mother was a slave of African origin and his father, possibly, was the count of Cabra in whose household he grew up and was freed. He received a Latin education along with the count's legitimate son, entered the University of Granada, and earned his bachelor's degree there in 1546. By 1556 he was teaching Latin grammar and became a lecturer at the cathedral school and consequently a member of the university faculty. There he produced his major literary work, *Austrias carmen*, a Latin epic of 1573 dedicated to don Juan de Austria, who the year before had put down the Morisco rebellion in the Alpujarras. In writing, he sought to improve the image of people of black African origin in the eyes of intellectuals and to distance them from the recalcitrant Moriscos. He has been called "the first black intellectual in Europe to construct a discourse of black pride."¹³¹ In his personal life he married a white woman and had a daughter. The archbishop of Granada was his close friend. On one occasion the archbishop asked him, "Master, what would have become of us if we had not studied?" Juan Latino responded: "Your Grace would be a brutish day laborer and I would be brushing down horses."¹³²

The will written in 1718 by a woman in Murcia provides a view of the trajectory of her life, more humble than that of the Granadan intellectual. She was a Berber from Oran and was captured at a very young age, so young that she could not remember her parents. She ended up as the slave of two brothers, Maximiliano and Antonio Benítez, for whom she worked as a housemaid and was baptized with the name of María de los Ángeles. The brothers died and gave her freedom by testament, and when Antonio's wife later died, she left a legacy to allow María to marry a man servant of the household, Sebastián García. When María made her own will, she revealed her complete assimilation to Christianity, specifying her place of burial in her local parish church and providing funds for masses to be said for herself and for charity, including the redemption of captives. She directed that she should be buried in a Franciscan habit, a common practice in early modern Spain.¹³³

By no means were all former slaves as fortunate. Free people of color often found problems in their daily lives when they were mistaken for slaves. A Granadan widow drew up her will in 1566 and bequeathed her estate to two black citizens, a brother and sister. She found it necessary to include this clarification: "the color of their faces gives rise to the suspicion that they are

slaves, but I say they have never been but free people.”¹³⁴ As late as 1693 in Jaén, María de la Concepción had to go before a town clerk to have a legal document drawn up. She described herself as a free widow of African origin with two adult sons of mixed race. She stated that “my sons and I go about in different places working and seeking a living, and many people doubt that we are free, and many problems arise from that, and they arrest us, saying we are slaves. And to avoid such inconvenience and so that we are held to be free people and not slaves,” she had the document prepared.¹³⁵

Discrimination could follow slaves even after their death. The rules of the confraternity of Santa Vera Cruz of Cañete in 1654 stated that all members of the group who died would be buried with the honors of the confraternity, except for domestics and slaves.¹³⁶

Eventually, though, individual slaves of all races gained their freedom through flight and even more through manumission, and their descendants gradually assimilated into the general population.¹³⁷ In time, the institution of slavery declined in Iberia and died a natural death. It remained crucially important in the colonial empires, and those early modern intellectuals who spoke and wrote in favor of the slaves and their abolition in the Iberian world mainly had colonial slavery as their targets. We will have a brief look at slavery in Spanish and Portuguese America and its eventual end in the concluding epilogue that follows.

Epilogue: The Wider Extensions of Iberian Slavery

The long history of slavery in Iberia from ancient to modern times has unfolded in this book, beginning with the Romans, passing through the Visigothic period, viewing the Islamic and Christian portions of the peninsula during the Middle Ages, and tracing developments in the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal well into the early modern period and to the end of slavery in Iberia. Some experiences of the people who lived as slaves in those periods remained constant: they were owned, their personal and working lives were at the command of their owners, and many of them sought freedom though not all attained it. Complexity, nonetheless, is the key to full understanding of the lives of slaves. The conditions of their lives and their responsibilities varied widely, depending on the period and its politics, their location, the occupations and inclinations of their owners, and the skills they had or could acquire.

Many enslaved people were domestic servants, a fact that led a number of scholars to assume that role to be the predominant and almost exclusive assignment for slaves in the Mediterranean world. That assumption in turn led to a line of argument that Old World slavery was not a particularly harsh system but one in which slaves were part of extended families and occupied places and roles in the household not too different from those of its free servants, who were also governed paternalistically by the (usually) male head of the household.¹ Such a positive image persisted, despite the many challenges it brought forth. One critical voice was that of Iris Origo, presented in a classic article now well over a half century old.² Origo's title tells it all: "The Domestic Enemy." Her concept of domestic enemies stressed the tensions among the free and unfree members of the household and notably between the master's wife and the women slaves. Slaves and masters frequently lived with tension and dread. Slaves feared the masters' extensive powers to bully, coerce, and punish. Masters, despite their ostensible power, were still uneasy in the knowledge that

they could be attacked or even killed by their discontented slaves. Households with slaves were seldom happy homes.³

The older emphasis on domestic slavery was mistaken on other grounds as well. By no means were all slaves in Iberia domestic workers, nor did they all live in the same household as their owners. Throughout the entire historic span, many slaves lived outside the owners' homes. Examples included the shepherds and mine workers in Roman times; the business agents found frequently in Roman Hispania and Islamic al-Andalus and in much smaller numbers in Christian Iberia; and slaves rented out by their owners as seasonal agricultural workers, as artisans in skilled crafts, and as wet nurses. Slaves such as these could live independently, communally with their fellow slaves in rural or urban spaces, or in the households of those who rented their labor. Even those slaves who resided in their owners' households could work in any number of non-domestic tasks within or beyond the home.

Two major means produced slaves. Children born to slave mothers were slaves, with some notable exceptions discussed earlier. Natural increase by itself did not replenish or even maintain the ranks of slaves; new slaves had to be brought into the system if the numbers were to remain steady or to grow. We saw the usual methods by which free people became slaves: capture in raids or in warfare. If these captives fell victim to martial actions in or near Iberia, they were traded locally. Others arrived in Iberia via routes of the slave trade, over which they were taken for long distances from their homelands and from the point of their enslavement. We have looked at other means by which free people fell into captivity and servitude, including debt slavery, self-sale, or the sale of free children by abductors or even by their own parents. These other means, I have argued, produced relatively few slaves. Most slaves were born into their status or enslaved through violent actions.

Enslaved people lived subjected to the dictates of their owners, who legally had extensive leeway in how they treated and employed their slaves, in the punishments they could inflict upon them, and in the ways they could sell or otherwise transfer their ownership. Women slaves, who were a majority in most places and in most periods, had special risks and occasionally special opportunities. Masters controlled their slaves' sexual lives and often impregnated the young women they owned, thus exposing them to multiple risks. Pregnancy and childbirth are always fraught with danger for the mother and child, more so in the pre-modern world lacking effective sanitation and medical care. Other dangers lurked. Masters might be pleased or displeased by having a child with their own slave, and masters' wives were often furious to

find out about the sexual dalliance of their husbands and could make life even more difficult for the slave woman during the pregnancy and following the birth. Yet we have seen the complexity of such situations and a few examples in which producing a child of the master placed the mother in an improved situation, even at times making her and her child free.

For many slaves, their insertion into family life gave them a minor place in the society in which they found themselves. They learned to speak the language of their masters, to adopt new norms of dress and behavior, and to adapt to the local social patterns. Membership in religious societies gave many late medieval and early modern slaves the companionship of people in similar situations and the collective support—moral, economic, and legal—in many of the difficulties they faced in their lives.

We can readily assume that freedom was a dream all slaves shared, though by no means all achieved it. Some tried to flee their masters and live free lives, usually by crossing religious frontiers. Many obstacles blocked safe passage for the fugitives, as we saw. There is no way to quantify the number of successful flights to freedom, as almost all the documents produced at the time and preserved for modern scholars relate to the recapture of the fugitives. Iberia and the Mediterranean world as a whole offered no space for communities of runaway slaves to exist.

Manumission was the sure route to the freedom that many slaves sought and a number achieved. The owner always remained in charge and could agree or refuse to manumit a slave, save in a few situations. The numbers of cases in which political or religious authorities intervened to free a slave without a master's permission were always quite limited, mentioned in the law codes but seemingly more theoretical than real. The owner, then, decided on manumission, and in the documents of manumission issued during his or her lifetime or in the last will and testament usually emphasized motivations such as goodwill toward the slave and the owner's own religious piety. We should not totally disregard such motivations, for some surely were accurate depictions of the attitudes of the owner, but attaining their freedom frequently cost the slaves dearly. They usually had to pay the owner a fee in cash or on installments, a sum that was often more than the going price for another replacement slave. Freed slaves still owed the master and his family courtesy, deference, and often an additional period of service. As we have also seen, the master could use the possibility of manumission as a tool to ensure good behavior by the slaves who sought to be free. Slaves could assume they would improve their chances for freedom by conforming to the masters' expectations of proper comportment.

Not all conformed, and we have seen numerous examples of misdeeds and the punishments that transgressions brought forth.

Those who did attain freedom and their descendants blended into the host society, though this is a subject not yet fully studied. Slavery in Spain and Portugal remained important in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but declined in the eighteenth, when slaves in Europe in the same period were increasingly marginal in an economy in which free labor was the norm and the rising local population filled the necessary jobs.

Slaves from many origins were present in Iberia over the ancient and medieval periods. The situation changed in the fifteenth century as sub-Saharan Africans increasingly became prominent in the trade to Iberia, even though they were always relatively few in numbers. The most recent estimate put the number of black slaves imported by the Portuguese and other Europeans into Europe and the islands of the eastern Atlantic at some 156,000 by the second decade of the sixteenth century.⁴ The trade in slaves from Africa to Europe declined after the early sixteenth century, as slavery in the Christian societies of the Mediterranean became less significant. In the colonies across the Atlantic, by contrast, from the 1490s onward the numbers of slaves in the European colonial areas grew exponentially and their economic importance increased. Recent well-informed estimates for the total trans-Atlantic slave trade put the numbers of slaves who departed for the Americas between 1501 and 1867 at some 12,500,000. Those who survived the Middle Passage and reached the Americas in the same period were estimated to have been some 10,700,000.⁵ Old World slavery provided the background for the systems of slavery that developed on the western side of the Atlantic, using several long- and short-term traditions present in the peninsula by 1492, as we will mention later.

Colonial development in the Americas required strenuous efforts to subdue and assimilate the native population, to mine the mineral wealth of the continents, and to produce commercial crops that could be sold in the European markets. The model the Spaniards used was based in part on the experience of their own reconquest of the Muslim lands in southern Spain, during which they had distributed the newly acquired lands among the leaders of the conquering armies. In part it rested on their experience in the Canary Islands, where they had subdued the natives and used the new lands for agriculture. The Portuguese in Brazil followed similar patterns developed in Portugal and its early Atlantic island colonies.

This is not the place for a full discussion of Latin American slavery. This book, after all, is the story of slavery in Iberia. The scholarship on slaves and

slavery in colonial Latin America is rich and deep.⁶ Slavery in the Americas developed from a need for labor that could be filled by neither indigenous nor European sources. It became racially based, with black Africans becoming predominant in American slavery. Why did that occur? Was it due to inherent racism among Europeans? Was racism present in late medieval and early modern Iberia? Even addressing what seem to be simple questions gives rise to many others, and we risk falling into the abysses of anachronism if we apply contemporary definitions of racism to the distant past. One line of argument postulates that Iberians, especially those of Andalusia, picked up and appropriated the disdainful views of black Africans present in medieval Islamic society. That interpretation is most closely associated with the work of Bernard Lewis, who charted many negative expressions about black Africans in medieval Islam, and James H. Sweet, who argued that the late medieval Spanish Christians followed the patterns the Muslims had set earlier. For Fredrick Fredrickson, however, only precursory elements were present in late medieval Iberia, and full-fledged racism only emerged much later and elsewhere.⁷

Various Christian Iberians certainly were conscious of sociological and physical differences among peoples and made a first and primary distinction on the basis of religion. They customarily characterized people as Christians, Muslims, Jews, or as converts from Judaism to Christianity (*conversos*) and from Islam to Christianity (Moriscos).⁸ Beyond that, we saw that notaries in sale documents carefully indicated skin color from white to black, with variations in between such as *membrillo* or *membrillo corcho*. Descriptions of features of face and hair also appeared in the documents, as did tattoos, scarification, old wounds, and marks from branding. For sub-Saharan African slaves, distinctions were made according to their level of acculturation: *ladinos* had learned a Romance language; *bozales* had not and were assumed to have arrived in Iberia only recently. Literary works through the sixteenth century contained disparaging descriptions of the use and pronunciation of language by people of African descent. Such works very likely reflected popular attitudes of the dominant society.

Were popular attitudes influenced by observations of somatic and cultural differences? Almost assuredly they were. Did all this add up to racism? The answer to this is still unclear, and reaching a satisfactory set of answers no doubt will be the task of the next generation of scholars. Was racial slavery in the Americas a product of these attitudes? To put it a bit differently: did black Africans become the main source of slave labor in the Americas because Iberians were racists? The answer here is no. Slavery followed the Iberian

conquerors and colonists into the Americas and later was reinforced by the slavery practiced in other European colonies—English, French, and Dutch among others. Slavery or social forms similar to it were present in the indigenous societies that the Europeans encountered. Quickly, however, slavery was based primarily on the exploitation of sub-Saharan Africans. Was that an inevitable development? Probably not, as all European colonial enterprises tried first to secure alternative sources of labor.

What about indigenous labor? Here the story involves two large and interrelated factors. First was the sharp decline of the native populations that fell victim to the inadvertently introduced diseases—most notably smallpox, but many others—that were common in Europe, Africa, and Asia and that hit the previously unexposed Amerindian population hard. People of all ages became ill, while no one knew how to treat the unprecedented afflictions or how to ease the suffering. There were other causal components in the decline in numbers. Populations were moved by force from familiar surroundings, they were put to work in unaccustomed and often demanding occupations, and members of the affected groups suffered from cultural despair.

The second factor was the concern of the home governments. In the Spanish case from early on, the government of Fernando and Isabel defined who its subjects were, and those so defined could not ordinarily be enslaved. They followed practices defined in the reconquest and refined in the Canary Islands. As we saw in a previous chapter, indigenous groups in the Canaries had choices. Those who accepted Castilian rule by signing treaties could not be enslaved. Only those groups who resisted and refused to sign treaties or who later broke agreements contained in the treaties were legally liable to enslavement. Similar laws and procedures applied in the Spanish American colonies, where native slavery became illegal in 1542.⁹ Such laws did not totally do away with the enslavement of indigenes, as the colonial areas were far from Spain and vast, and there were never sufficient numbers of administrators to spot and stamp out violators. By the seventeenth century, however, indigenous slavery had declined, and labor in colonial Spanish America generally rested on a base of the wage labor of native workers, *mestizos* and mulattoes, and on the slave labor of the blacks.

Could Europeans be used? That was highly unlikely. The population of Europe was still recovering from the unprecedented demographic losses of the mid-fourteenth century, when a third or more of the Western European population died in epidemics in a short four-year period. Europe still lacked sufficient labor in the first century of empire building in the Americas. This was especially true

for Portugal, a small country of about a million people that struggled throughout its colonial history to staff its overseas ventures. The Spanish kingdoms had a larger population than Portugal, perhaps six or seven million, but still could not provide labor from their own population for arduous tasks in the mines and the sugar plantations. The British colonies developed later, but even their early experiments with indentured British subjects proved unsatisfactory, and British colonists in the Caribbean and North America turned to the use of imported slaves.

Given the declining native population and the rapidly expanding need for labor in the colonies, Spaniards in the Indies very quickly began to question the excessive reliance upon native labor and to report the high death rate the natives were suffering. Bartolomé de las Casas was one of the most eloquent spokesmen for the plight of the Amerindians, and in 1516 he suggested that white and black slaves be imported as laborers to relieve the burdens shouldered by the natives.¹⁰ The intellectual and ecclesiastical attacks on the exploitation of native laborers coincided with the insistence of the Spanish colonists that Amerindians were unsuited for intensive labor and that Africans, perceived to possess a much higher capacity for work, should replace them.

In these circumstances, Spaniards and Portuguese and later other Europeans turned to Africans from south of the Sahara, who happened to be the only available large supply of slaves and potential slaves. Early in the Middle Ages, as we saw, many slaves came from central and eastern Europe, particularly from the Slavic populations. The Slavs and their neighbors had become Christian during the later Middle Ages, and as Christians, they could no longer be legally enslaved by other Christians. The Muslims of North Africa frequently ended up as captives and slaves if not ransomed, but Spanish royal rules specifically prohibited Muslims or even converts from Islam from being transported to the new American colonies. This also included Muslims from West Africa. The prohibition was not totally effective in preventing individuals and groups of Muslims from reaching the Americas and in time forming Muslim communities.¹¹

If Europeans could not effectively use Amerindian labor, if eastern European or Muslim slaves were out of the question, and if free or semi-free European labor was not available, that left the non-Muslim black Africans. They were available in African Atlantic ports (and later ports of the Indian Ocean), where the Portuguese traded with local rulers, exchanging European goods for slaves and tropical goods. The Portuguese had a delivery system in place, developed over the second half of the fifteenth century to move those slaves and goods to the Canaries and other Atlantic islands and to Portugal and then elsewhere in Christian

Europe. It could easily be adapted to serve the trans-Atlantic trade, which grew rapidly after 1513, when the licensing system for legalized slave trading was introduced. Merchants who secured a license and paid a fee could ship slaves to the Indies. The royal government in this fashion could satisfy part of the colonial demand for labor and at the same time provide itself another source of income.¹² Portuguese merchants secured Spanish licenses to transport slaves to the Spanish American colonies and later to their own areas of colonization in Brazil. Latin American slavery first grew from the availability of African slaves and from the Portuguese expertise as slave merchants and transporters.

Sub-Saharan Africans, in addition to their availability, offered several advantages.¹³ Many came from societies that practiced extensive agriculture and were accustomed to the labor discipline inherent in such pursuits, unlike many Amerindians. Many also knew metal working, especially in iron, a field of endeavor alien to the native Americans, who used metal primarily for decorative rather than productive purposes. Black slaves were not covered by the restrictions on exploitation that the colonial powers established for the native Americans. Epidemiologically, there was an advantage to the use of Africans, who had been born in a region that shared a pool of several diseases with the Europeans and were less susceptible to the European-borne diseases that were devastating the native population of the Americas and to malaria and other tropical diseases. The fateful choice—that Africans were to be preferred to Indians as laborers—assured the development of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Americas.

New World slavery developed in part because of traditions present in the Old World. One was the persistence of the legal regulations governing slavery, present from Roman times and ratified in medieval law codes. Another was the common practice of centuries of slavery. There was also the existence of sugar-cane agriculture and sugar refining, both in the peninsula and in the Canaries and Madeira. In the islands the connection between sugar and slavery had been established, just as had the custom of importing black African slaves, though the Canarian and Madeiran establishments were far smaller than later plantations on the other side of the Atlantic. As techniques for sugar production crossed the ocean, the demand for slaves expanded. Slavery became an important social and economic institution in the Iberian American empires and lasted well into the nineteenth century. Slaves and slavery were connected in colony and metropolis, even though slavery became much more important in the colonial setting. A huge new market for slaves opened in the European colonies in the Americas, and the transatlantic slave trade expanded to fill the demand. It is likely true that more African slaves than European colonists

crossed the Atlantic during the first century of the colonial enterprise. The vast numbers of Africans who crossed the Atlantic transformed the social and physical complexion of the Americas. This was so much the case that two of the commonly cited five examples of slave societies were Brazil and Caribbean islands.

What emerged in the Americas relied on Old World roots but developed distinctive American features. Philip D. Curtin, one of the founders of the modern school of studies of slavery, described the changes that slavery as an institution underwent as it developed on the American side of the Atlantic.

The old European slavery, in short, . . . suffered a sea change. Whatever its precedents in the Old World, the reality by the beginning of the eighteenth century was actually another kind of institution, not borrowed from the European past, nor yet an institution found in some overseas society and adapted to European use. It had roots in Europe, but was nevertheless so profoundly modified through time that it became a new invention, devised for a new situation—the highly specialized plantation society.¹⁴

Robin Blackburn years later took up the same theme as Curtin. He argued that the slave systems of the New World, beginning with the Spanish and Portuguese, were different from what had gone before, even though slavery in the Americas made ample use of the Old World precedents. It was difficult to theorize, because an older form of labor organization gained new vigor in a changed economic environment as capitalism developed in a context of increased trade in lucrative commodities such as sugar. Blackburn asserted that the American “slave systems were . . . radically new in character compared with prior forms of slavery, yet they were assembled from apparently traditional ingredients.”¹⁵

Just as the relations between the metropolises and the colonies influenced colonial development, the connections between the European and the American versions of slavery remained important and mutually influential. Spanish governments from the time of Fernando and Isabel tried to maintain close control on American developments as the Spanish empire came into being. The same was true for the later development of Portuguese Brazil. Yet the great distances separating metropolitan Spain and Portugal from their colonies limited what could be done. Officials in the home countries directed the slave trade, issued licenses for the movement of slaves, and had control over the movement of those slaves, some of whom came through Lisbon, Seville,

or Cádiz before crossing to the Americas. There was a constant movement of individual slaves back and forth at the orders of their masters, as we saw in previous chapters.

Two systems of slavery were apparent as the Spanish and Portuguese colonies matured. One was small-scale slavery, an outgrowth of the history of slavery in medieval Iberia, in which there were typically only a few slaves per owner, serving as domestic servants, artisan helpers, and additional agricultural workers on small operations. The other—large-scale or gang slavery—was an outgrowth of previous patterns that underwent a new development as plantation agriculture, based at first on sugar cane, and mining operations resulted in large concentrations of slaves. The first was a continuation of the tradition of acquiring slaves as supplemental laborers and domestics that was practiced in the medieval Christian states of the Mediterranean; the second stemmed from a different pattern of gang slavery that can be seen in the ancient Roman world and in some examples in the Islamic world in the Middle Ages. The plantation system lasted through to the end of slavery, and the virulent growth of gang slavery eclipsed the small-scale version over the course of the colonial centuries. This was a major change from the medieval European experience with slavery.

A few free blacks and black slaves accompanied the Europeans from the beginning. A free black population thus developed early on and grew as some black slaves won their freedom. For over a century, people of African descent—both slave and free—served as companions for the Spaniards and served in intermediary roles between the European elite and the mass of the indigenous populations. Conditions were changing by the early seventeenth century. Small-scale slavery persisted but began to become less important. There were more European settlers. The indigenous population had declined, and a complex set of rules and regulations prevented the uncontrolled exploitation of the remaining Amerindians. There was by then a sizable free mixed-race population. They filled the intermediary roles that some black slaves and free blacks had previously occupied. At the same time, large-scale slavery expanded. After the middle of the seventeenth century, Spaniards imported African slaves almost solely for their labor value, for the work they could do in the plantations, mines, and other large-scale establishments. New World slavery became more exclusively gang slavery; the transition was first in Brazil and only later in the Spanish Caribbean islands. The same sort of demand for gang laborers was also found in Brazil and in the English colonies in the Caribbean and North America, which imported more and more slaves from the late seventeenth century onward.

Even though the plantation complex employed the greatest number of

slaves, there were numerous varieties of positions that slaves occupied in the Latin American world. Some of these occupations were similar to roles some slaves filled in the home countries; examples include slaves used for prestige purposes, such as butlers and footmen, and slaves owned by civil and religious institutions. Other patterns developed from local conditions in the Americas, such as the use of armed slaves in urban militias and guards units. In the last lands of the Americas, with uninhabited or sparsely settled areas, communities of fugitive slaves could develop, flourish, and in some cases recapitulate African social and political patterns.

The end of slavery in Latin America was long in coming; it lasted well into the late nineteenth century in places such as Brazil and Cuba. Nonetheless, the emergence of attitudes favoring better treatment for slaves and for the abolition of slavery often came from figures based in Iberia and in the Iberian colonies. Their attitudes had application to slavery on both sides of the Atlantic and reflect the emerging cohesion and interconnections of the Atlantic world of Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Voices of Spaniards and Portuguese in support of the slaves began to be raised from very early after the transatlantic trade began. They were few at first but gained in number and volume as the slave trade grew. One of the earliest came in a surprising source: Bartolomé de las Casas, the Spanish Dominican frequently called the apostle of the Indians. It is well known that he proposed that slaves, either African or European, should be taken to the Indies to replace the Indians in the hardest and harshest labor. What was not widely known for centuries is that he subsequently changed his opinion and wrote that slaves should be spared from the arduous work just as the free subjects of the empire were. His views appeared in a few pages of his major work *The History of the Indies*, a book was not put in print until the late nineteenth century.¹⁶

Other sixteenth-century figures challenged the legality and morality of slavery and anticipated many of the arguments of the more famous abolitionists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet most of these critics of aspects of slavery accepted some forms of slavery as legitimate; they were not complete abolitionists. Tomás de Mercado (1525–1575), who had the experience of living in both Spain and Mexico, considered that prisoners of war, children sold by their parents, and those convicted of crimes whose penalties were enslavement could be considered validly enslaved, but others not. Slavery, after all, had been accepted in world societies for millennia and was still flourishing in the Mediterranean and neighboring societies. Elements of slavery and the lives that slaves endured found critics as a number

of Spaniards and Portuguese began to object to abuses within the system. Francisco de Vitoria (ca. 1483–1546) accepted enslavement in just war but considered that enslavement that resulted from purchases was morally wrong. Whatever the source of their slaves, Vitoria argued, masters should treat them well. In Mexico, the friar and law professor Bartolomé de Albornoz argued that the acquisition of slaves in West Africa should be considered illicit and immoral and that the slaves' greater access to Christianity as slaves could not compensate. These Spaniards were joined by Fernão de Oliveira, a Portuguese military officer and writer who suggested in his *Arte de Guerra no Mar* (1555) that European demand for slaves was motivating African rulers to obtain slaves as prisoners of war in needless and unjustified conflicts and even to kidnap others. The Spanish Dominican Domingo de Soto, who had been a student of Francisco de Vitoria, echoed Oliveira's views in 1557, when he wrote that it was morally wrong to buy and use people enslaved in these fraudulent ways. Another Spanish Dominican, Alonso de Montúfar, the second archbishop of Mexico, argued in a letter to King Felipe II in 1560 that "we do not know of any just cause why the [Africans] should be captives any more than the Indians." Martín de Ledesma, still another Spanish Dominican, wrote in the same year that slaves produced by such unjustified means should be freed. The Portuguese Amador Arrais (1530–1600) wrote against the abuses of the slave trade and the impossibility of justifying it on moral grounds.¹⁷

Alonso de Sandoval (1576 or 1577–1652) was another Spaniard with first-hand knowledge of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the suffering of its African victims. Born in Seville, he accompanied his bureaucrat father to Peru, where he received his education in Lima at the Jesuit Colegio de San Pablo and was ordained in that order. Sent to Cartagena de Indias in 1605, he spent most of the rest of his life ministering to the physical and spiritual needs of the newly arrived Africans in what was a principal center of the slave trade into Spanish America. Based on his years of questioning and conversing with the new arrivals and on then current racial theories, he wrote a treatise on slavery, first published in Spanish in Seville in 1627 and later published in an expanded Latin edition in Madrid in 1647. No abolitionist, Sandoval accepted slavery as a given fact but argued for better treatment of the enslaved peoples. He also offered sometimes accurate ethnographic details on the captives and their societies in western and southeastern Africa regions, in large part as guidelines and aids for their conversion to Christianity.¹⁸

Not until later in the seventeenth century can we find full-formed

abolitionists in the Spanish Indies. Two of the earliest were Francisco José de Jaca (1645–c. 1689) and Epifanio de Moirans (1644–1689). Jaca was a Capuchin friar and priest from Aragon. Sent by his order to work in Caracas, he made a stop in Cartagena de Indias, where he saw at first hand the horrors of the slave trade and the suffering of those who survived it to arrive in South America. When he reached Caracas, he began a career as an advocate for the Indians, the African slaves, and the missionaries who worked among them. He advocated emancipation for the slaves and excommunication for those who oppressed them. Due to the opposition of slave owners and officials, he was ordered back to Spain. Stopping in Havana on his way, he encountered another Capuchin, the Frenchman Epifanio de Moirans, who shared his views and his commitment to abolition. Jaca delayed his return to Spain and with Moirans preached his message in Havana and other places he visited during this time. Both men preached and both wrote. Jaca's message was contained mainly in letters to his clerical superiors and to Spanish officials. Moirans wrote *Servi liberi seu naturalis mancipiorum libertatis iusta defensio* (Free Servants or a Just Defense of the Natural Liberty of the Slaves). After their forced return to Spain, both faced questioning and occasional imprisonment, despite support from important clerical officials in Spain and in Rome. Bureaucrats in the Council of the Indies were unprepared to accept their message and refused to allow them to return to the Americas.¹⁹

In Brazil, too, long-time observers began to question slavery and the slave trade. Jorge Benci and Giovanni Antonio Andreoni, both born in Italian cities but with lengthy residences in Brazil, published works in the early years of the eighteenth century condemning the ill treatment that African slaves received in the colony. Manuel Ribeiro Rocha wrote a treatise in 1758 outlining the horrors of the slave trade and slavery and advocating the end of both.²⁰ With the period of Rocha, we are approaching the point at which attitudes in the Western world began slowly to change, though slavery still had a long time to run in colonies throughout the Americas.

Anti-slavery sentiment had been building over the course of the eighteenth century, fostered by the thought of the Enlightenment and the fervor of radical Protestantism. Both movements had come to focus in England, and the British navy emerged as the main enforcer of the expanding bans on the slave trade. Britain ended its own slave trade in 1794 and abolished slavery in its colonies in 1834. In France, the revolutionary government declared French slaves to be freed in 1794, but once in power Napoleon Bonaparte reestablished slavery, which did not officially end until 1848.

Few slaves in metropolitan Spain remained to be freed in the late eighteenth century. Slavery was a colonial matter by then and died a slow death in the colonies, with long debates and relatively few dramatic moments. The government of Carlos III in 1785 issued a law code for the colonies that improved the lot of the slaves but did not abolish slavery. Although treaties with England in 1814 and 1817 specified an end to the slave trade everywhere in Spanish territory, in the colonies the slaves and their descendants remained in servitude, and the treaties themselves had to be restated and strengthened on several occasions.

The process of ending slavery in Spanish America unfolded in a complicated pattern. With Spain's Bourbon monarch under house arrest in France and with Napoleon's brother Joseph precariously occupying the Spanish throne, the constitutional convention of Cádiz considered the question of slavery. In the spring of 1811, two delegates, José Miguel Guridi Alcocer from Mexico and the Spaniard Agustín de Arguëlles, proposed abolishing the institution. Their views did not persuade a majority of the delegates, and slavery remained legal. With the movements of independence in the Americas, Spain lost most of its American possessions, while sovereign republics developed from Mexico to Chile. In the course of time, all abolished slavery. Only Puerto Rico and Cuba, as well as the Philippines in Asia, remained within the Spanish empire. Not surprisingly, slavery lasted longest in those places where it was most significant to the economy. In the Spanish world, that meant Cuba more than Puerto Rico. For the Portuguese world, as we will see a bit later, that meant Brazil.

In the still important remnants of the Spanish American empire, one of the first measures limiting slavery was the royal order of March 1836 directing that slaves from the colonies could no longer be brought to Spain.²¹ In 1840 the Catholic church, in *De Nigritarum Commercio*, endorsed the abolition of the slave trade. In 1866 a royal decree provided freedom for any slave reaching Spanish soil. The colonial slaves, however, as well as their descendants, remained enslaved. In 1868 a liberal government proposed a law providing for all children born to slave mothers to be free, but opposition from the elite of Cuba, who threatened to declare their island's independence, meant that the law was not passed. A similar law did take effect in 1870. This was the Law of Moret, which gave freedom to the children of slaves born thereafter and to all slaves over the age of sixty-five. Even then there were concessions to the slave owners in the colonies. The most important provision was that children of slaves did not receive full freedom. They were to work as apprentices for

their former owners at no salary until they were eighteen, then at half salary until they were twenty-two. Only then would they be free. And, of course, the Law of Moret left adult slaves in their working prime still in servitude. Even though there were strong elements in Spain and the colonies condemning slavery, the authorities were reluctant to order complete abolition in Puerto Rico and Cuba, mainly because of continuing fears that those islands would also break away from Spain. Anti-slavery attitudes finally prevailed, and slavery was abolished in Puerto Rico in 1873 and in Cuba in 1880. In Cuba the slaves freed in that year still had to work for their former masters to compensate them for the price of their freedom. In 1886, finally, the last remaining Cuban quasi-slaves received unconditional freedom.²² Thus the institution of slavery in the Spanish American possessions came to an end in a less than dramatic demise.

The process was equally lengthy in Brazil. Brazil separated from Portugal in 1822 while large numbers of slaves still were being brought to the newly independent country. Laws restricting the slave trade began to appear in 1831, and in 1850 the transatlantic slave trade to Brazil was declared illegal. Freedom for some slaves had to wait until 1871, when the Free Womb Law stated that children subsequently born to slave mothers would be free, although remaining under the control of the master while minors. Finally, full freedom for all Brazilian slaves came in May 1886.²³

When its colonial history is taken into account, Iberia's experience of slavery was as persistent as that of any European region. We have seen the continuation of slavery in Iberia itself from Roman times to the eighteenth century, despite major religious, political, and economic changes over that period. That experience helped set the conditions for the system of colonial slavery that lasted in the Iberian American possessions from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth. It was a logical outcome of patterns existing in Europe, the Near East, and Africa for over a millennium and a half. It had its antecedents in the Old World from Roman times onward and drew also on cultural traditions from the Christian world, the world of Islam, and sub-Saharan Africa. Slavery's peculiar development in the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is due primarily to the emphasis on the plantation system and its reliance on gang slavery during that period. Regardless of real or perceived differences between the systems of the various European groups in the Americas, slavery there in the two centuries before its final abolition was as harsh a system as the world has known. Slavery of any variety is abhorrent, but the particularly grueling conditions that the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century

New World slaves endured came primarily from the significance and dominance of gang slavery.

Slavery in Iberia and the Spanish and Portuguese colonial extensions persisted for centuries and ended only in the comparatively recent past. Some of those who were born as slaves in the second half of the nineteenth century in Cuba or Brazil lived on into the mid-twentieth century. Even in the early twenty-first, legacies of slavery's long history are still apparent throughout the Americas.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

Epigraph: Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. Stephen A. Barney, W. I. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 125.

1. See my review articles, "Slavery in Spain, Ancient to Early Modern: A Survey of the Historiography Since 1990," *Bulletin of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 26, 3 (Winter–Spring 2001–2002): 10–18; and "La historia de la esclavitud y la historia medieval de la Península Ibérica," in *Minas y esclavos en la Península Ibérica e el Maghreb en la Edad Media*, ed. Ana Echevarría and Cristina de la Puente, *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, ser. 3, *Historia Medieval* 23. (2010): 149–65. The Casa de Velázquez (the French government's cultural institution in Madrid) supported three conferences on slavery in 2011 and 2012: "L'esclavage aux époques médiévale et moderne (XIIIe–XVIIe siècle): Histoire et implications actuelles," held in Valladolid in February 2011 and organized by Fabienne Guillén; "Les esclaves dans la ville: De la Méditerranée à l'empire portugais, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle," held in Lisbon in December 2011 and organized by Fabienne Guillén and Rute Dias Gregório; and "Être esclave: Dynamiques sociales, identités, acculturation (XIIIe–XVIe siècle)," held in Barcelona in February 2012 and organized by Fabienne Guillén and Roser Salicrú i Lluç. A recent volume assembles some of the studies: Fabienne Guillén and Salah Trabelsi, eds., *Les esclavages en Méditerranée: Espaces et dynamiques économiques* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2012).

2. In Spain, banks and savings and loan companies, at least until recently, were required to spend a percentage of their profits to support cultural activities. Many local ones chose to contribute to local historical societies and to subsidize scholarly publications. Governments—national, regional, provincial, and municipal—also have underwritten scholarly investigation and publication. The continuing financial crisis has stopped or slowed this support in some cases.

3. Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 1: *Péninsule ibérique—France* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1955). He went on to publish another massive volume, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 2, *Italie—Colonies italiennes du Levant—Levant latin—Empire Byzantin* (Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit, 1977), as well as numerous articles.

4. See Verlinden's early "L'Origine de *sclavus*-esclave," *Bulletin du Cange: Archivium Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 17 (1942): 97–128. He continued publishing on slavery throughout his life, and his works continued to appear posthumously.

5. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "Esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna," *Estudios de Historia Social de España* 2 (1952): 369–428.

6. Jacques Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques au Moyen Age dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris: Fayard, 1981, 1996). The 1996 edition is unchanged.

7. William D. Phillips, Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985). This also appeared in Spain as *La esclavitud desde la época romana hasta los inicios del comercio transatlántico*, trans. Elena Pérez Ruiz de Velasco (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 1989). I am currently at work on a thorough updating of that book. I later published *Historia de la esclavitud en España*, trans. Leopoldo Fornés Bonavía (Madrid: Playor, 1990), very different from the present work, which is a major recasting that takes into account the accelerated growth of studies of slavery in recent years.

8. Vicenta Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos, 1479–1516* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1964). Her work in many articles has recently been collected in *Esclavos y libertos en los mundos ibéricos: Obra completa de Vicenta Cortés Alonso* (Madrid: Mundo Negro, 2011).

9. Vicente Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud en Valencia en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Históricos, 1978).

10. Alonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979). Franco Silva has continued to publish on slavery.

11. Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972); idem, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966); idem, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47 (1967): 344–59; idem, *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

12. James Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Ellen Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

13. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales en el siglo XVI: Negros, Moros, y Moriscos* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982); idem, "Esclavos indios en Canarias: Precedentes," *Revista de Indias* 43, 172 (1983): 515–33; idem, "Ideología y praxis en la proyección comercial y esclavista de Canarias hacia África occidental," in *Estudios sobre la abolición de la esclavitud*, ed. Francisco de Solano (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1986), 87–102; idem, *Los libertos en la sociedad canaria del siglo XVI* (Madrid and Tenerife: C.S.I.C. and Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1983). See also Alberto Marcos Martín, "La esclavitud en la ciudad de La Laguna durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI a través de los registros parroquiales," *Investigaciones Históricas* 2 (1980): 5–35; the same article appears in Marcos's *De esclavos a señores: estudios de historia moderna* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1992), 11–42.

14. A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

15. One article appeared analyzing slavery in late medieval Manresa, where the number of slaves found for the entire fifteenth century totaled only sixty-seven. Marc Torras i Serra, “L’esclavisme a Manresa en el segle XV,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l’edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 341–59.

16. One of Vincent’s articles cuts across regional lines: “The Affective Life of Slaves in the Iberian Peninsula during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Sex and Love in Golden Age Spain*, ed. Alain Saint-Saëns (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1996), 71–78. Although Vincent announced in 1994 at the Chicago meeting of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies that he was at work on a survey of slavery in Spain, the work has not yet appeared.

17. Bernard Vincent and Alessandro Stella, “L’esclavage en Espagne à l’époque moderne: acquis et nouvelles orientations,” in *Captius i esclaus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. Maria Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 290–99.

18. Alessandro Stella, *Histories d’esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique* (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2000).

19. Stella also dealt with this in his “Itinerarios esclavos: África—el Caribe—Cádiz,” *Palabras de la CEIBA* 2 (1999): 66–74.

20. Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada and Diputación Provincial, 2000). Martín Casares has several other articles and a coedited book on related topics; these will be cited in later chapters. She also collaborated in *Género y esclavitud*, special issue of *Arenal: Revista de Historia de las Mujeres* 7, 1 (2000).

21. Moriscos were Muslims converted to Christianity and their descendants.

22. *Esclaus i propietaris d’esclaus a la Catalunya del segle XV: L’assurance contra fugues* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1998); “Entre le reclaim de les terres islàmiques i l’escapada septentrional: La institucionalització de la por a les fugues d’esclaus a la Catalunya tardomedieval,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l’edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 87–134; “¿L’esclau com a inversió? Aprofitament, assalariament i rendibilitat del treball esclau en l’entorn català tardomedieval,” *Recerques* 52–53 (2006): 49–85.

23. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009). This book received the Premio del Rey of the American Historical Association.

24. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 213.

25. Charles Verlinden, “La esclavitud en la economía medieval de las Baleares, principalmente en Mallorca,” *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 67–68 (1982): 132.

26. Ibid., 151; Charles Verlinden, “Une taxation d’esclaves à Majorque en 1428 et la traite italienne,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge en Rome*, 42 (1972): 165–66.

27. Jocelyn Hillgarth, “A Greek Slave in Majorca in 1419–26: New Documents,” *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988): 547.

28. Antonio Planas Rosselló, “El Mestre de Guaita y la custodia de los esclavos en Mallorca.” *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 52 (1996): 95–128.

29. Ricardo Soto Campany, “¿Una oferta sin demanda? La esclavitud rural en Mallorca antes de la peste negra (ss. XIII–XIV),” *Historia Agraria* 21 (2000): 17.

30. For overviews of the preceding discussion of the estimates of Mallorca’s population of slaves in the late Middle Ages, see Antoni Mas i Forners, *Esclaus i Catalans: Esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV* (Palma de Mallorca: Lleonard Muntaner, 2005), especially 29–37; idem, “La incidencia del mercado de esclavos en la estructura productiva de Mallorca (approx. 1300–1450),” in *Les esclavages en Méditerranée: Espaces et dynamiques économiques*, ed. Fabienne Guillén and Salah Trabelsi (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2012), 78–80.

31. Francisco Sevillano Colom, “Demografía y esclavos del siglo XV en Mallorca,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana* 34 (1973–75): 160–97, 170–75; Antoni Furió, “Esclaus i assalariats: La funció econòmica de l’esclavitud en la Península Ibèrica a la baixa edat mitjana,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat*, ed. Ferrer i Mallol and Mutgé i Vives, 31

32. For a view of recent studies, Phillips, “Slavery in Spain”; idem, “La historia de la esclavitud y la historia medieval de la Península Ibérica”; Stella and Vincent, “L’esclavage en Espagne à l’époque moderne.”

33. Gwyn Campbell, Joseph C. Miller, and Suzanne Miers, eds., *Women and Slavery*, 2 vols. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007); Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, eds., *Children in Slavery Through the Ages* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009).

CHAPTER 1. THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN IBERIA

Epigraph: Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 775.

1. In the home countries, at least. Slavery continued in the colonies and former colonies overseas.

2. Finley developed the concept from the 1960s onward based on suggestions by earlier scholars and presented it in works such as *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York: Viking, 1980). He most succinctly stated the proposition in “Slavery and the Historians,” an address he delivered in 1979, which is reprinted in the newer edition of *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, ed. Brent D. Shaw (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1998). Paul Lovejoy suggested that a sixth slave society should be added to the list: the nineteenth-century Sokoto caliphate, which had some 25 percent of the population as slaves. See the discussion in B. W. Higman, “Slave Societies,” in *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, 2 vols., ed. Paul Finkelman and Joseph C. Miller (New York: Macmillan Reference, 1998), 2:826–27.

3. For an overview of this material, see William D. Phillips, Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985);

Spanish translation: *La esclavitud desde la época romana hasta los inicios del comercio transatlántico*, trans. Elena Pérez Ruiz de Velasco (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 1989). I am currently at work on an updated version of this book.

4. Robert I. Burns, S.J., “La manumission de un musulman: Un document doble de Valencia en el 1300,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 5 (1988): 141–45.

5. Manuel Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390–1481)* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995), 217–18; Luis Seco de Lucena Paredes, “El ḥāyib Riḍwān, la madraza de Granada, y las murallas del Albayzín,” *Al-Andalus* 21 (1956): 285–96.

6. Nicolás Cabrillana Ciézar, *Almería morisca* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1982), 142.

7. *Ibid.*, 129–30.

8. See, among others, María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002); Amy G. Remensnyder, “Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary,” *Speculum* 82 (2007): 642–67.

9. Antonio Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos en la Murcia del setecientos* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1992), 117–20. His isolated case should not be taken as representative, for it is open to multiple interpretations. Perhaps the story José de Santa Ana told once sober and in custody was the real one, or perhaps he in fact had been trying to get back to the world of Islam and to resume the practice of the religion in which he had been born. What is missing from the account is an explicit statement that he had been a slave or was a fugitive slave at the time he was apprehended.

10. Pedro Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Cádiz durante el siglo XVIII* (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, 2001), 131.

11. See the comprehensive collection of sources edited and annotated by Thomas Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981). For ancient slavery generally, see the interpretive work by Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* and the essay collection edited by Finley, *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies* (Cambridge: M. Heffer, 1960). All three contain excellent bibliographical citations. For a concise survey of Roman slavery, see William D. Phillips, Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), chap. 2. For Roman Spain the most comprehensive work is Julio Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos en la España romana* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1971). See also Geraldo Pereira Menaut, “La esclavitud y el mundo libre en las principales ciudades de Hispania romana: Análisis estadístico según las inscripciones,” *Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia* 10 (1970): 159–88; Luis A. García Morena, “Composición y estructura de la fuerza de trabajo en la península ibérica durante la antigüedad tardía,” *Memorias de Historia Antigua* 1 (1977): 247–56; Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 39–40. For a synopsis of the ancient sources, see F. Marco Simón, “Esclavitud y servidumbre en la conquista de Hispania. I: 237–83 a. J. C.,” *Estudios del Prehistoria, Arqueología e Historia Antigua de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de Zaragoza* 3 (1977): 87–101.

12. Julio Mangas Manjarrés, after a thorough review of the sources, suggested that the total number of Carthaginian and Hispanic prisoners of war should be something like 200,000. *Esclavos y libertos*, 62–63. Wiedemann, ed., *Greek and Roman Slavery*, selection 1 (*Digest*, 1, 5, from Florentius, *Institutes*, Book 9), 15.

13. Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 74, 76–78; Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, 86. F. Marco Simón, “Esclavitud y servidumbre en la conquista de España, II, 83–19 a. J.C.,” *Hispania Antiqua* 9–10 (1979–80): 169–89.

14. For definitions of slave societies and societies with slaves, see the Introduction. Throughout his comprehensive study of Roman slavery in Spain, Mangas Manjarrés asserted that, at least in the first two centuries C.E., Spain was indeed a slave society. *Esclavos y libertos*, passim. General work on the Roman Empire contradicts this. See, for example, Keith R. Bradley, *Masters and Slaves in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control* (Brussels: Latomos, 1984), 16–17, 105; idem, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 12–14.

15. For the Goths in general, see Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Peter J. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); idem, *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press and Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, 1999); P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's, 1995); Edward James, ed., *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980); Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 1, *Péninsule ibérique—France* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1955), 61–101. In Spanish, see the works of José Orlandis, *Historia de España: La España visigótica* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977); idem, *Historia del reino visigodo español* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1988); Marcos Sanz Agüero, *Los visigodos* (Madrid: Círculo de Amigos de la Historia, 1978). There is still much of value in E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966); idem, “Peasant Revolts in Late Roman Gaul and Spain,” *Past and Present* 2 (1952): 11–23.

16. Maurice Lombard, *The Golden Age of Islam*, trans. John Spencer (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1975), 167. Slavery and concubinage with slave women were common in Arabia before the advent of Islam. Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 7. Among others, Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Shaun E. Marmon, ed., *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1999).

17. For an example, see the treaty of 713 between the Muslim conqueror Mūsā ibn Nušair and the Christian lord of several towns in southeastern Spain. Treaty of Tudmīr, in Olivia Remie Constable, ed., *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 37–38.

18. Verlinden, *L'esclavage*, 1: 187, 192–96, 202–7, 237–38; Reinhart Dozy, *Spanish Islam: A History of the Moslems in Spain*, trans. Francis Griffin Stokes (1931; London: Frank Cass, 1972), 429–30. For the early period, the works of Verlinden and Dozy are still useful,

though later authors have provided new information and interpretations. See, for example, the works of Cristina de la Puente, including “Mano de obra esclava en Al-Andalus,” in *Minas y esclavos en la Península Ibérica y el Maghreb en la Edad Media*, ed. Ana Echevarría and Cristina de la Puente, *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* ser. 3, *Historia Medieval* 23 (2010): 135–47; and “Slaves and Slave Trade: Western Islamic World.” In *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef W. Meri, 2:758–62 (New York: Routledge, 2006).

19. For captives and captivity, see Chapter 2.

20. Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, *La Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 74–76.

21. At least as current scholarship presents it. Scholars have generally neglected agriculture and slavery in studies of the early Islamic economy and society. See the comments in Chapter 3, note 4.

22. Muslim slaves were documented in Barcelona from the tenth century. Josefina Mutgé i Vives, *La ciudad de Barcelona durante el reinado de Alfonso el Benigno (1327–1336)* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1987), 137.

23. Enslavement by judicial action (i.e., convicted criminals or debtors sentenced to slavery), one method by which Christians became slaves of other Christians, died out in Catalonia late in the tenth century. Stephen P. Bench, “From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise: The Changing Face of Slavery in Catalonia and Aragon, 1000–1300,” *Viator* 25 (1994): 63–93, esp. 65.

24. The most important article on the transition is Bench, “From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise.” For this section, see especially 74–85. See also Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 116–17, 122, 125, 135–38; Mutgé i Vives, *La ciudad de Barcelona*, 137.

25. Jacques Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques au Moyen Âge dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris: Fayard, 1981, 1996). For the study of a specific case, see Manuel Grau, “La esclavitud en Els Termes Generals del Castell de Morella (Castellón, 1350–1450),” in *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1965), 445–82.

26. Antoni Furió, “Esclaus i assalariats: La funció econòmica de l’esclavitud en la Península Ibérica a la baixa edat mitjana,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l’edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 23–24.

27. Brian A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), particularly 214, 231, 236–38; Mark D. Meyerson, “Slavery and the Social Order: Mudejars and Christians in the Kingdom of Valencia,” *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 1, 1 (1995): 144–73; idem, “Slavery and Solidarity: Mudejars and Foreign Muslim captives in the Kingdom of Valencia,” *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 2, 3 (1996): 286–343; Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l’Islam en el segle XIV: Cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià* (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1988) provides an extensive collection of documents in the appendix. More generally, see John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities Under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Mark

D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and the many works of Robert I. Burns, S.J.

28. See Chapter 2.

29. *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J., trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

30. François Soyer, “El comercio de los esclavos musulmanes en el Portugal medieval: Rutas, precios y papel económico,” in *Minas y esclavos en la Península Ibérica y el Maghreb en la Edad Media*, ed. Ana Echevarría and Cristina de la Puente, *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* ser. 3, *Historia Medieval* 23 (2010): 365–75.

31. For a recent general account of the Black Death in Europe, see Ole J. Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346–1353: The Complete History* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004). A scholarly debate has been under way regarding the nature of the Black Death, with the major question being whether the medieval disease was the same as modern bubonic plague and its related diseases with *Yersinia pestis* as the causal agent. Recent analysis of DNA from medieval burials confirms the presence of *Yersinia pestis*. See coverage in the *New York Times*, October 31, 2010, and August 30, 2011. For Iberia, William D. Phillips, Jr., “Peste Negra: The Fourteenth-Century Plague Epidemics in Iberia,” in *On the Social Origins of Medieval Institutions*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and Theresa M. Vann (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 47–62.

32. Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Andalucía, 1450–1550* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), 47–51.

33. The bibliography on colonial Spanish American slavery is too vast to cite. See Chapter 7.

34. For examples of the work on late medieval and early modern Castile, see, first, the classic work by Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, “Esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna,” *Estudios de Historia Social de España* 2 (1952): 377–78, reprinted in idem, *La esclavitud en Castilla en la edad moderna y otros estudios de marginados* (Albolote, Granada: Comares, 2003); Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media* (Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1979); Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, “Contribución al estudio de los esclavos en la Sevilla medieval,” in *Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo*, ed. Luis Núñez Contreras, vol. 2 (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1972), 109–21; Juan Aranda Doncel, “Estructura de la población morisca en tres parroquias sevillanas: San Julián, San Román y Santa Lucía,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba de Ciencias, Bellas Artes y Nobles Artes* 45 (1976): 77–84; Vicenta Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos, 1479–1516* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1964); Vicente Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud en Valencia en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Históricos, 1978); Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada and Diputación Provincial, 2000).

35. See the comments of Nicolás Cabrilla Ciézar in *Marbella en el Siglo de Oro* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 187–88. See also Juan Aranda Doncel, *Los moriscos en tierras de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1984), 165.

36. José Antonio Azpiazu Elorza, *Esclavos y traficantes: Historias ocultas del País Vasco* (Donostia: Ttarttlo, 1997).

37. Jorge Fonseca, *Escravos e senhores na Lisboa quinhentista* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2010), 88–100; idem, *Escravos no Sul de Portugal, Séculos XVI–XVII* (Lisbon: Vulgata, 2002); Maria do Rosário Pimentel, *Viagem ao fundo das consciências: A escravatura no época moderna* (Lisbon: Colibri, 1995), 51.

38. Stella and Vincent, “Eslavage en España,” 291–92.

39. Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra*, 132–46.

40. Roser Salicrú i Lluch, “Slaves in the Professional and Family Life of Craftsmen in the Late Middle Ages,” in *La famiglia nell’economia europea, sec. XIII–XVIII/The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2009), 326n8; Dimes Sancho i Martínez, “La esclavitud en Barcelona en los umbrales de la Edad Moderna,” *Estudios Históricos y Documentos de los Archivos de Protocolos* 7 (1979): 193–270. Eloy Martín Corrales, “Esclavos norteafricanos en la Cataluña del siglo XVIII.” In *Captius i esclaus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 372n28.

41. Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada*, 104.

42. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales en el siglo XVI: Negros, Moros, y Moriscos* (Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982), 101–30, 143–44; idem, *Los libertos en la sociedad canaria del siglo XVI* (Madrid and Tenerife: C.S.I.C. and Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1983), 16, 43.

43. José María Rodríguez Martín and Juan Pedro López Adán, *Aproximación a la esclavitud en Toledo en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII* (Toledo: Caja Castilla-La Mancha, 1993), 53–56.

44. Julio Izquierdo Labrado, “La esclavitud en Huelva y Palos a fines del siglo XVI,” *Huelva y su Historia* 6 (1997): 47–73; Vicenta Cortés Alonso, “La población negra de Palos de la Frontera (1568–1579),” *Actas y Memorias del XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Sevilla, 1964* (Seville: ECESA, 1966), 3: 609–18. The town of Palos was heavily involved in the late medieval Atlantic trade and the American trade from the time of Columbus. Many of its young men left for the Americas in the early colonial years. A nucleus of a community of African descent began there due to the slave trade and the local demand for labor; free people of color later joined that community.

45. For a fuller discussion, see Chapter 2. Francisco Andújar Castillo, “Entre la ‘administración’ y la esclavitud de los niños moriscos: Vélez Blanco (Almería), 1570–1580,” in *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac: Études*, ed. A. Temini (Zaghouan: Fondation Temini pour la Recherche Scientifique et l’Information, 1995), 740–44.

46. Numerous scholars have commented on these events and their role in the history of slavery. See, for example, Bartolomé Bennassar, *The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Benjamin Keen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 106.

47. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978), 257–58, 262.
48. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 842.
49. Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Los moriscos*, 262.
50. Rafael Torres Sánchez, “La esclavitud en Cartagena en los siglos XVII y XVIII,” *Contrastes* 2 (1986): 81–101, esp. 82–83. Bennassar, *Spanish Character*, 106. See also Antonio Manuel González Díaz, *La esclavitud en Ayamonte durante el Antiguo Régimen* (Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 1996), 133.
51. Julio Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud en la baja Andalucía*, 2 vols. (Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 2004), 1: 313–14.
52. Luis Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén en los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *España y el Norte de África: Bases históricas de una relación fundamental*, ed. Manuel Olmedo Jiménez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1984), 399–406.
53. Fernando Cortés Cortés, “Los esclavos en Montijo,” *Alminar* 15 (1980): 4.
54. Martín Corrales, “Esclavos norteafricanos,” 373.
55. Parrilla, *Esclavitud en Cádiz*, 86–87, 147, 167.
56. Joaquín Álvaro Rubio, *La esclavitud en Barcarrota y Salvaleón en el período moderno (Siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 2005), 48–53.
57. Torres Sánchez, “Esclavitud en Cartagena,” 94.
58. Carmen Sarasúa, *Criados, nodrizas y amos: El servicio doméstico en la formación del mercado de trabajo doméstico, 1758–1868* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1994), 115–38.
59. Kirsten Schultz, “The Crisis of Empire and the Problem of Slavery: Portugal and Brazil, c. 1700–c. 1820,” *Common Knowledge* 11, 2 (2005): 271; Francis A. Dutra, “Pombal, Marquis of (1699–1782),” in *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, ed. Junius P. Rodríguez (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC Clío, 1997), 1: 514.

CHAPTER 2. TO BECOME A SLAVE

Epigraph: *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J., trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), partida IV, título 21, ley 1, 4: 977.

1. *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Burns, partida IV, título XXI, ley II, 4: 977; José Hinojosa Montalvo, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios en el Alicante medieval* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000), 96.

2. Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 174–78, 186. Josep Hernando, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona: Blancs, negres, llors i turcs: De l'esclavitud a la llibertat* (s. xiv) (Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanels, 2003), 242. Hinojosa Montalvo, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 96. For other parts of the Mediterranean, see Sally McKee's examples of children born to slave mothers and free fathers in medieval Italian areas who inherited their fathers'

status. "Inherited Status and Slavery in Late Medieval Italy and Venetian Crete," *Past & Present* 182 (2004): 31–54.

3. Brian A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 224.

4. Vicenta Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos, 1479–1516* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1964), 29–31, 40–47, 79, 82, 91; Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 95–97. *Descaminats* who traveled the roads without a royal license could be enslaved, especially if authorities apprehended them near the frontier and suspected them of trying to flee the kingdom. See also, Francisco Javier Marzal Palacios, "La esclavitud en Valencia durante la baja edad media (1375–1425)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat de Valencia, 2006), 413–24. For the *bayle general*, see Leopoldo Piles Ros, *Estudio sobre el Bayle General de Valencia, su autoridad y jurisdicción* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1970).

5. E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 100; P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 90, 161–62; Robert Latouche, *The Birth of Western Economy: Economic Aspects of the Dark Ages*, trans. E. M. Wilkinson (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 70–71; Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 1: *Péninsule ibérique—France* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1955), 74–75.

6. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 21, law 4, Burns ed., 4: 978.

7. This procedure became less used in the thirteenth century. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 222–23.

8. Ruth Pike, *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 4, 6–7; Jean Canavaggio, "Le galérien et son image dans l'Espagne du Siècle d'Or: Quelques variations sur un discours d'exclusion," in *Les problèmes de l'exclusion en Espagne (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)*, ed. Augustin Redondo (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1983), 257–71; Yvette Hermosilla-Cardaillac, "Esclavage et magie chez les nouveaux chrétiens en Espagne au XVIe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 35–36 (1984): 115–36.

9. Pike, *Penal Servitude*, 9–10. Rafael Torres Sánchez, "La esclavitud en Cartagena en los siglos XVII y XVIII," *Contrastes* 2 (Murcia, 1986): 190. Francisco Javier Guillamón Álvarez and Jesús Pérez Hervas, "Los forzados de galeras en Cartagena durante el primer tercio del siglo XVIII," *Revista de Historia Naval* 19 (1987): 62–78.

10. Archivo General de Simancas, *Consejo y juntas de hacienda*, legajo 431, unfoliated.

11. Pike, *Penal Servitude*, 14, 20–21, 24; Maximiliano Barrio Gonzalo, "La esclavitud en el Mediterráneo occidental en el siglo XVIII: Los 'esclavos del rey' en España," *Crítica storica* 17, 2 (1980): 199–256.

12. Pike, *Penal Servitude*, 9–11. See "Cédula de Su Magestad para que se de libertad a todos los esclavos que sirven en las galeras," 24 marzo 1642, Archivo General de la Marina (Museo Naval), Colección Vargas Ponce, tomo XXVI, doc. 65, fol. 99. How long this lasted is unknown.

13. Pike, *Penal Servitude*, 66–70, 73, 83, 85.

14. *Ibid.*, 28–39. For the slaves in the sixteenth century at the mines of Guadalcanal,

see Alessandro Stella, “Nègres de Sa Majesté: A propos du rôle de l’esclavage en Andalousie au Siècle d’Or,” in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Historia moderna I* (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía and Cajasur, 1995), 617–35.

15. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 105–9, 116–18, 122–29, 135–38, 152–56, 172–74; J. Font Ruiz, “La sociedad en Asturias, León y Castilla en los primeros siglos medievales,” in *Historia social y económica de España y América*, 5 vols., ed. Jaime Vicens Vives (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1957), 2: 319–20.

16. Trans. James T. Monroe, in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 222.

17. J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976–1978), 1:260; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 252, 256–58; Antoni Ferrer Abárzuza, *Captius, sarraïns, batejats, personas del talla: Sobre l’esclavitud a l’Eivissa medieval* (Eivissa: Institut d’Estudis Eivissencs, 1995), 21–25.

18. Robert I. Burns, S.J., “Muslims as Property: Slavery Episodes in the Realms of Aragon, 1244–1291,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–1998): 63–67, 71–73.

19. Robert I. Burns, S.J., *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), 111; idem, *The Crusaders’ Kingdom of Valencia*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1:2, citing Muntaner, *Crònica catalana*, ch. 13.

20. Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders*, 351.

21. Some of the first military actions of the fledgling United States in the Mediterranean were against the so-called Barbary pirates, whose actions mirrored those of their medieval and early modern predecessors.

22. Jarbel Rodríguez, *Captives and Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 10–16. Rodríguez focuses on the Crown of Aragón in the Middle Ages, but his commentary also includes examples from Islamic Spain and North Africa and Christian Castile and from the early modern period as well.

23. Manuel Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390–1481)* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995), 208–213.

24. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 116–17, 122, 125, 135–38.

25. Ibid., 546–50; Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970), 38–39.

26. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 163–64; Manuel Gómez de Valenzuela, “Esclavos moros en Aragón (siglos XI al XVI),” *Argensola: Revista del Instituto de Estudios Oscenses* 102 (1989): 116.

27. Gómez de Valenzuela, “Esclavos moros en Aragón,” 116–17. For a complete study of pirate vessels, crews, arms, actions, booty and trade, see Anna Unali, *Marinai, pirati, e corsari catalani nel basso medioevo* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1983); idem, *Mariners, pirates, i corsairs catalans a l’època medieval*, trans. and revised by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol

(Barcelona: Institut Municipal d'Història, 1985). See also Emilio Sola, *Un Mediterráneo de piratas: Corsarios, renegados y cautivos* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1988).

28. Cited by Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada and Diputación Provincial, 2000), 91.

29. Enrique del Pino, *Esclavos y cautivos en Málaga* (Málaga: Algazara, 2001), 74, 86–103. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, “La esclavitud por guerra a fines del siglo XV: El caso de Málaga,” *Hispania* 27 (1967): 63–68.

30. Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Andalucía, 1450–1550* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), 43.

31. Manuela Marrero Rodríguez, *La esclavitud en Tenerife a raíz de la conquista* (La Laguna de Tenerife: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1966), 17–18, 23–24, 26–27, 31–33, 54–55; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands after the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982); 37n19; Antonio de la Torre y de Cerro, “Los canarios de Gomera vendidos como esclavos en 1489,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 7 (1950): 47–72; Vicenta Cortés Alonso, “Los cautivos canarios,” in *Homenaje a Elías Serra Rafols* (La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna, 1970), 137–48. Dominik Josef Wölfel, *La esclavitud de los gomeros* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Idea, 2003). In this posthumous work (Wölfel died in 1963) the author discussed the natives of the island of Gomera sold as slaves in the 1480s and 1490s and royal and ecclesiastical efforts to annul many of the sales. Alberto Vieira, *Os escravos no arquipélago da Madeira, Séculos XV a XVII* (Funchal: Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 1991).

32. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucía*, 201–202.

33. Fernando Bruquetas de Castro, *La esclavitud en Lanzarote, 1618–1640* (Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1995), 27–28. The Spanish royal government shared this impression and exempted the Moriscos of Lanzarote from expulsion when they were being ejected from Spain in the early seventeenth century (35).

34. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 167–69.

35. William D. Phillips, Jr., *Enrique IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth-Century Castile, 1425–1480* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1978), 87–88; idem, “State Service in Fifteenth-Century Castile: A Statistical Study of Royal Appointees,” *Societas*, 8/2 (1978): 119, 130. More recently, Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, *Caballeros en la frontera: La guardia morisca de los reyes de Castilla (1410–1467)* (Madrid: Universidad de Educación a Distancia, 2006); Ana Echevarría and Martin Beagles, *Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile (1410–1467)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

36. James B. Tueller, “The Assimilating Morisco: Four Families in Valladolid Prior to the Expulsion of 1610,” *Mediterranean Studies* 7 (1998): 167–77; Joaquín Gil Sanjuán, “Las fugas de moriscos andaluces a Berbería,” in *España y el Norte de África: Bases históricas de una relación fundamental* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1987), 1: 333–38.

37. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 841; *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*. 5 vols., ed. Manuel Colmeiro (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1861–1903) 5:543.

38. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 174–83. On 175 she noted that the court

made the opposite decision regarding Protestant rebels in the Netherlands: they could not be enslaved.

39. For a summary, with citations of the principal bibliography, see Francisco Sánchez Ruano, "Los moriscos a ambos lados del Estrecho: De la guerra de la Alpujarra a los corsarios de Rabat," in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Historia moderna I. Córdoba, 1991* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1995), 583–97. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978), 129, 140, 250–52; H. C. Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (London: Quaritch, 1901), 239; Nicolás Cabrillana Ciézar, "Almería en el siglo XVI: Moriscos encomendados," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 78 (1975): 41–68; Nicolás Cabrillana Ciézar, "La esclavitud en Almería según los protocolos notariales (1519–1575)," *Actas de las I Jornadas de metodología aplicada de las ciencias históricas*, 5 vols. (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago, 1975–76), 5: 305–17; Nicolás Cabrillana Ciézar, "Esclavos moriscos in Almería del siglo XVI," *Al-Andalus* 40 (1975): 53–128; Juan Aranda Doncel, "Los esclavos en Jaén durante el último tercio del siglo XVI," in *Homenaje a Antonio Domínguez Ortiz* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1981), 233–51; Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Guerra y sociedad: Málaga y los niños cautivos (1569)," *Estudios: Revista de Historia Moderna* 3 (1974): 31–54. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 348–56. Francisco Andújar Castillo, "Entre la 'administración' y la esclavitud de los niños moriscos: Vélez Blanco (Almería), 1570–1580," in *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac—Études*, ed. Abdeljalil Temini (Zaghouan: Foundation Temini pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1995), 739–50.

40. For the few Morisco slaves that ended up in Cuenca and its hinterland, mainly working as house servants, gardeners, or truck farmers, see Mercedes García-Arenal, "Los moriscos de la región de Cuenca según los censos establecidos por la Inquisición en 1589 y 1594," *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia* 138 (1978): 181–82.

41. Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Los moriscos*, 185; Lea, *Moriscos of Spain*, 323, 344, 355; Henry Kamen, "Mediterranean Slavery in its Last Phase: The Case of Valencia, 1660–1700," *Anuario de Historia Económica de España* 3 (1970): 225–27. With the expulsion orders, Morisco slaves may have been exempted, and certainly thereafter Morisco slaves remained.

42. For a recent, informative work, see Youval Rotman, "Entre marché d'esclaves et marché de captifs en Méditerranée médiévale," in *Les esclavages en Méditerranée*, ed. Fabienne P. Guillén and Salah Trabelsi (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2012), 25–46. See also the comments of Mateo Antonio Páez García, "Esclavos y cautivos en Córdoba en el tránsito a la modernidad," in *Captius i esclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 209.

43. There are exceptions, of course, as when free Muslims were sold as slaves during the revolt of 'Umar ibn Ḥaṣṣūn in the tenth century. Francisco Vidal Castro, "Sobre la compraventa de hombres libres en los dominios de Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn," *Homenaje al Profesor Jacinto Bosch Vilá* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1991), 1:417–28. Another example: when late medieval Christian Iberians bought and employed Orthodox Christian or even

Roman Catholic slaves, such as the Sards captured in war when the Aragonese invaded Sardinia. All these cases were exceptional.

44. For an account of the captivity and enslavement of parts of the Muslim population following the Christian conquest of the island of Mallorca in the thirteenth century, see Ricardo Soto y Campany, “La conquista de Mallorca y la creación de un mercado de esclavos,” in *Les esclavages en Méditerranée*, ed. Fabienne P. Guillén and Salah Trabelsi (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2012), 67–74. For the prisoner exchanges between Genoa and the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century, see Álvaro Santamaría Aráñez, “Cautivos genoveses en Mallorca durante las campañas sardas de 1353–1355,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 5 (1968): 501–16.

45. Rodríguez, *Captives and Their Saviors*, 38–40, quote 40.

46. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 80.

47. Such converts were “tornadizos” in Castilian and “helches” in Arabic. Carmen Argente de Castillo Ocaña, “Los cautivos en la frontera entre Jaén y Granada,” in *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV Coloquio de historia medieval andaluza*, ed. Cristina Segura Graiño (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988), 211–12; Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera*, 216. For the length of captivity, see Emilio Cabrera Muñoz, “Cautivos cristianos en el reino de Granada durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV,” in *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV Coloquio de historia medieval andaluza*, ed. Cristina Segura Graiño (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988), 230; idem, “De nuevo sobre cautivos cristianos en el reino de Granada,” *Meridies. Revista de Historia Medieval* 3 (1996): 137–160.

48. Cited in Cabrera, “Cautivos cristianos,” 229.

49. Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera*, 217.

50. For the sea war, see Cristóbal Torres Delgado, “El Mediterráneo nazarí: Diplomacia y piratería,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980): 227–36; and Jacqueline Guiral-Hadziiossif, “Course et piraterie à Valence de 1410 à 1430,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980): 759–65.

51. Cabrera, “Cautivos cristianos,” 1:228, 232.

52. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, “Unas cuentas en Cádiz, 1485–1486,” *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales* 2–3 (1974–75): 85–120. The material on the captives is on 98–100.

53. Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 76–79.

54. Asunción López Dapena, “Cautiverio y rescate de D. Juan Manrique, capitán de la frontera castellana, 1456–1457,” *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales* 12–13 (1984): 243–53.

55. Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 55–69; Henry Kamen, “Mediterranean Slavery in Its Last Phase,” 213.

56. Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 79–83.

57. María Isabel Jiménez Jurado, “Cautiverio y rescate de moriscos almerienses,” in *Almería entre culturas, siglos XIII–XVI* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses de la Diputación de Almería, 1990, 577–86. For similar developments in the coastal town of Mojácar, see Juan A. Grima Cervantes, “Notas sobre la esclavitud y la piratería en la tierra

de Mojácar (1494–1568),” in *Homenaje al Padre Tapia*, ed. R. Lázaro (Almería: Cajalmería, 1988), 345–55.

58. Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 83–84, 89–90.

59. Salvador Raurich, “La piratería berberisca en las costas de Cataluña,” *Revista General de Marina* (March 1943): 318.

60. Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 89–91.

61. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, “Esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna,” *Estudios de Historia Social de España* 2 (1952): 380–81; Verlinden, *L’esclavage*, 842–43.

62. Antonio Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos en la Murcia del setecientos* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1992), 131–32; Torres Sánchez, “La esclavitud en Cartagena,” 83–84, 89, 94.

63. Fernando Bruquetas de Castro, *La esclavitud en Lanzarote, 1618–1640* (Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1995), 114–15; A. Anaya Hernández, “La invasión de 1618 en Lanzarote y sus repercusiones socioeconómicas,” *IV Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana, 1984* (Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1987), 191–224.

64. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 128–30.

65. Eloy Martín Corrales, “Esclavos norteafricanos en la Cataluña del siglo XVIII,” in *Captius i esclaus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 372–84.

66. Rodríguez, *Captives and Their Saviors*, 37–66.

67. *Ibid.*, 214–15.

68. Manuel Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390–1481) entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390–1481)* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995), 214, citing Pedro de Medina, *Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España*, 186 (1944 ed.).

69. Quoted by P. S. van Koningsveld, “Muslim Slaves and Captives in Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 6, 1 (1995): 17–18.

70. Charles Emmanuel Duforcq, *La Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 74–76.

71. Van Koningsveld, “Muslim Slaves and Captives in Western Europe,” 9–10.

72. Ángeles García de la Barbolla, “Santo Domingo de Silos: La imagen de la santidad a partir de las fuentes hagiográficas castellano-leonesas del siglo XIII,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 31,1 (2001): 127–45.

73. Grimaldo, *Vita Dominici Siliensis*, trans. Colin Smith, in Colin Smith, ed., *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 1: 711–1150 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1988), 1: 92–97.

74. Pero Marín, *Miraculos romanizados*, trans. Colin Smith, in Smith, ed., *Christians and Moors in Spain*, 2:38–39. See also María de los Llanos Martínez Carrillo, “Historicidad de los ‘Miraculos Romançados’ de Pedro Marín, 1232–1293: El territorio y la esclavitud granadinos,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 21 (1991): 69–96.

75. Smith, ed., *Christians and Moors in Spain*, 2:40–43.

76. *Ibid.*, 1: 134–35.

77. Friedman, *Spanish Captives*, 55–69; Kamen, “Mediterranean Slavery,” 213.

78. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Adventures of Don Quixote*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), 345–80. For scholarly commentary, see Emilio Temperano, *El mar maldito: Cautivos y corsarios en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Mondadori, 1989), 130–34. More recently and more fully, María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002); and Amy G. Remensnyder, "Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 642–67.

79. Rodríguez, *Captives and Their Saviors*, 181–82.

80. For one example, see the 1360 treaty between Aragon and Tunis, in Smith, ed., *Christians and Moors in Spain*, 2: 114–17.

81. Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera*, 221–22. In a proposed peace treaty between the king of Castile and the Muslim king of Granada in 1455, one of the clauses that the Castilian side suggested was that Granada turn over 1,000 captives in the first year of the peace and up to 10,000 during the term of the treaty. The Granadans refused the terms. López Dapena, "Cautiverio y rescate de don Juan Marique, 245.

82. Andrés Díaz i Borrás, *El miedo del Mediterráneo: La caridad popular valenciana y la rendición de cautivos bajo poder musulmán, 1323–1539* (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2001), 287–334. See the general comments of van Koningsveld, "Muslim Slaves and Captives in Western Europe"; and Mark D. Meyerson, "Slavery and the Social Order: Mudejars and Christians in the Kingdom of Valencia," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 1, 1 (1995): 144–73; idem, "Slavery and Solidarity: Mudejars and Foreign Muslim Captives in the Kingdom of Valencia," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 2, 3 (1996): 286–343.

83. Gómez de Valenzuela, "Esclavos moros en Aragon," 127; Stephen P. Bench, "From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise: The Changing Face of Slavery in Catalonia and Aragon, 1000–1300," *Viator* 25 (1994): 69.

84. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, "Los cautivos en la frontera entre Jaén y Granada," 211–25, esp. 220–21; Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, III. "Exea" meant both the act of exchanging and the one who did it. See also, María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "Els redemptors de captius: mostolafs, eixeos o alfaquecs (segles XII–XIII)," *Medievalia* 9 (1990): 85–106; idem, "La redempció de captius a la corona catalano-aragonesa (segle XIV)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 15 (1985): 237–97, esp. 262–66. For her comments on merchants as redeemers, see 267–68. José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, "Esclavos, alfaqueques y mercaderes en la frontera del mar de Alborán, 1490–1516," *Hispania* 38 (1978): 275–300. See idem, "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 127–59; van Koningsveld, "Muslim Slaves and Captives," 6–9; José María de Cossío, "Cautivos de moros en el siglo XIII: El texto de Pero Marín," *Al Andalus* 7 (1942): 49–112. For a recent detailed look at the experience of the mechanisms of Christian redemption in Valencia, Díaz i Borrás, *El miedo del Mediterráneo*.

85. Argente del Castillo, "Cautivos en la Frontera," 218–21.

86. Cossío, "Cautivos de moros en el siglo XIII."

87. James W. Brodman, "Military Redemptionism and the Castilian Reconquest,

1180–1250,” *Military Affairs* 44 (1980): 24–27; idem, “Municipal Ransoming Law on the Medieval Spanish Frontier,” *Speculum* 60 (1985): 318–30; idem, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986). For recent comments on the professionalization of the process of ransoming, see Pascal Buresi, “Captifs et rachat de capitifs: Du miracle à l’institution,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 50 (2007): 113–30, esp. 127–28; López de Coca Castañer, “Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier,” 135–41; Jiménez Jurado, “Cautiverio y rescate de moriscos almerienses,” 577–86; López Dapena, “Cautiverio y rescate de D. Juan Manrique,” María de los Llanos Martínez Carrillo, “Rescate de cautivos—comercio de esclavos: Murcia siglos XIV–XV,” *Estudios de Historia de España* 47, 141 (1993): 21–47; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucía*; Argente del Castillo, “Cautivos en la Frontera,” 211–25. George Camamis, *Estudios sobre el cautiverio en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977).

88. Cabrera, “Cautivos cristianos,” 1:233.

89. Jarbel Rodríguez, “Financing a Captive’s Ransom in Late Medieval Aragon,” *Medieval Encounters* 9, 1 (2003): 177.

90. Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia*, 140.

91. Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabis*, trans. Ahmad Ubaydli and Charles Melville, in Charles Melville and Ahmad Ubaydli, eds., *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 3, *Arabic Sources (711–1501)* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1988): 48–49.

92. Van Koningsveld, “Muslim slaves and captives,” 6–8. See also Meyerson, “Slavery and Solidarity.”

93. Argente del Castillo, “Cautivos en la frontera,” 216–17. In 1473, King Enrique IV of Castile also offered tax exemptions to wives and children of captured Christians who ransomed them.

94. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa*, 105–29.

95. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, ed. Manuel Colmeiro (born 1818, died 1894), 5 vols. (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1861–1903), Cortes of 1555, 5: 119; Cortes of 1559, 5: 861.

96. Antonio Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos en la Murcia del setecientos* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1992), 132–37.

97. Emilio Cabrera Muñoz, “Cautivos cristianos en el reino de Granada durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV,” in *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV Coloquio de historia medieval andaluza*, ed. Cristina Segura Graiño (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988), 234; Pilar Pueyo Colombina, “*Litterae acaptandi* concedidas por el arzobispo de Zaragoza Dalmau de Mur en los años 1433–1440,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l’edat mitjana*, ed. María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 401–30.

98. Gonçal López Nadal, “Corsarismo y esclavitud en el Mediterráneo occidental (ss. XVI–XIX),” in *Captius i esclaus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 302–7.

99. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 140–46. Torres Sánchez, “Esclavitud en

Cartagena,” 94. See Martín Corrales, “Esclavos norteafricanos en la Cataluña del siglo XVIII,” 365–87, on exchanges between 1610 and 1766.

100. Friedman, *Spanish Captives*; Martín Corrales, “Esclavos norteafricanos,” 385–87; Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

CHAPTER 3. THE TRAFFIC IN SLAVES

Epigraph: Jerónimo [Hieronymus] Münzer, “Relación del viaje,” in J. García Mercadal, ed., *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952–62), 1:339.

1. The quotation is from Pierre Dockès, *Medieval Slavery and Liberation*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 4–5. Orlando Patterson offered similar views in *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

2. Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 1, *Péninsule ibérique—France* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1955), 66–72, 80, 729–31; Alfons Dopsch, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (New York: Fertig, 1969), 232–33; P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 131, 196, 198; E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 24. It was a commonplace that the most active slave traders were Jews. King (*Law and Society*, 199 n1), on the contrary, shows that proof of Jewish slave commerce in the Visigothic kingdom is very weak, but also see Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 203–5, for comments and contemporary references to Jewish slave dealers in the later period.

3. For basic works on slavery in the Islamic world see R. Brunschvig, “Abd,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al., 12 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2009), 1: 24–40; Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Shaun E. Marmon, ed., *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1999). For a comparative view, see Kishori Saran Lal, *The Muslim Slave System in Medieval India* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1994). For overviews of early Islamic social and economic history, see Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Maurice Lombard, *The Golden Age of Islam*, trans. John Spencer (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1975); Robert Mantran, *L'expansion musulmane (VII^e–XI^e siècles)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969). Again, for a comparative view, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1993).

4. This assertion may be challenged in the future, as research in rural history and the history of slavery in the Islamic world proceeds. As Shaun Marmon put it in 1999, slavery

“has, until recently, received only minimal attention from specialists in Middle Eastern social history.” *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, 1. A decade earlier, Bernard Lewis made a similar point: “The documentation for a study in Islamic slavery is almost endless; its exploration has barely begun.” *Race and Slavery*, vi. John Hunwick offered an explanation of why the study of slavery in the Muslim world has not developed any more than it has: “until quite recently Arab scholars were reluctant to probe this aspect of their past. Politically, in terms of Arab relations with sub-Saharan Africa, the less said the better, and it was also useful to depict the enslavement of black Africans as a uniquely European sin. . . . A second reason for the lack of studies on Africans in slavery in the Mediterranean Islamic world is the lack of a constituency within such societies that would press for an investigation of its past history and present condition. . . . Finally, . . . [there] has been the lack of interest in the matter in the American and European academy.” John Hunwick, “The Same but Different: Africans in Slavery in the Mediterranean Muslim World,” in *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam*, ed. John Hunwick and Eve Troutt Powell (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 2002), ix–xiii; Cristina de la Puente covered similar ground and noted that Muslims often “have approached the question of slavery in an apologetic fashion” and have bowed to the “weight of certain taboos when it comes to tackling the subject.” “Slaves in Al-Andalus through Wathā’iq Works (4th–6th Centuries H/10th–12th Centuries C.E.): Marriage and Slavery as Factors of Social Categorisation,” *Annales Islamologiques* 42 (2008): 187–88.

5. Verlinden (*Esclavage*, 214) stated that these figures referred only to European slaves in Córdoba and excluded slaves of other origins.

6. Olivia Remie Constable, “Muslim Spain and Mediterranean Slavery: The Medieval Slave Trade as an Aspect of Muslim-Christian Relations,” in *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500*, ed. Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 266–68; Constable, *Trade and Traders*, 203–8; Enrique del Pino, *Esclavos y cautivos en Málaga* (Málaga: Algazara, 2001), 53–54. For a forceful argument that early medieval Christian Europe gained economically from the export of pagan European slaves to the Muslim world, see Michael McCormick, “New Light on the ‘Dark Ages’: How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy, Past and Present 177 (2002): 17–54; and the same author’s *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 741–77.

7. Constable, “Muslim Spain and Mediterranean Slavery,” 267–68; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 223–24.

8. Shaun E. Marmon. *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundries in Islamic Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Jan S. Hogendorn, “The Location of the ‘Manufacture’ of Eunuchs,” in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*, ed. Miura Toru and John Edward Phillips (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 41–68. See also the comments of Constable, *Trade and Traders*, 205–6, esp. note 172.

9. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 213–15; William Montgomery Watt, with Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), 58, 85–86; Rachel

Arié, *España musulmana (siglos VIII–XV)*, vol. 3 de *Historia de España*, ed. Manuel Tuñón de Lara (Barcelona: Labor, 1984), 122–32.

10. The most recent comprehensive study is John Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade* (London: Routledge, 2007), for the medieval period, see 18–40; Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, A Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, 2005); Nehemia Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali* (London: Methuen, 1973), 124–52; E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 31–42.

11. Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, 127–29; Marc Bloch, *Land and Work in Medieval Europe*, trans. J. F. Anderson (New York, 1969), 186–229; Fernand Braudel, “De l’or du Soudan à l’argent d’Amérique,” *Annales E.S.C.* 1 (1946): 9–22; Robert S. López, “Back to Gold, 1252,” *Economic History Review* 9 (1956): 219–40; Andrew M. Watson, “Back to Gold—and Silver,” *Economic History Review* 20 (1967): 1–34; Vitorino de Magalhães Godinho, “O Mediterraneo saariano e as caravanas de ouro,” *Revista de história* 11 (1955): 307–53; 12 (1956): 59–107; Marian Malowist, “Quelques observations sur le commerce de l’or dans le Soudan occidental au Moyen Age,” *Annales: E.S.C.* 25/26 (1970): 1630–36. Philip D. Curtin, “The Lure of Bambuk Gold,” *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 623–31.

12. Ralph A. Austen, “The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census,” in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 23–76. For comparative late medieval figures for the Atlantic trade, see Kenneth Baxter Wolf, “The ‘Moors’ of West Africa and the Beginnings of the Portuguese Slave Trade,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24.3 (1994): 449–69; Ivana Elbl, “The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450–1521,” *Journal of African History* 38, 1 (1997): 31–75.

13. Bovill, *Golden Trade*, 101–2.

14. For a discussion of this transition, see chapter 1. A fundamental study is that of Stephen Bensch, “From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise: The Changing Face of Slavery in Catalonia and Aragon, 1000–1300,” *Viator* 25 (1994): 63–93.

15. Constable, “Muslim Spain and Mediterranean Slavery,” 272, 281.

16. José Luis Cortés López, “Esclavos en medios eclesiásticos entre los siglos XII–XIV: Apuntes para el estudio de la esclavitud en la Edad Media,” *Espacio, Tiempo, y Forma* ser. 3, *Historia Medieval* 5 (1992): 427.

17. Mark D. Meyerson, “Slavery and the Social Order: Mudejars and Christians in the Kingdom of Valencia,” *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 1, 1 (1995): 144–73; idem, “Slavery and Solidarity: Mudejars and Foreign Muslim Captives in the Kingdom of Valencia,” *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 2, 3 (1996): 286–343; John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities Under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 49–53, 313, 316–17; Robert I. Burns, S.J., *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 11–12, 128; idem., *The Crusaders’ Kingdom of Valencia*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1: 115; Verlinden,

Esclavage, 291–92, 300; J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976–1978), 1: 166.

18. General visions include J. N. Hillgarth, *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire* (London: Longman, 1975), and Jesús Lalinde Abadía, *La Corona de Aragón en el Mediterráneo medieval* (1229–1479) (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, C.S.I.C., 1979).

19. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 270–73, 319–21. For the actions of the royal government, see Johannes Vincke, “Königtum und Sklaverei im aragonischen Staatenbund während des 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 25 (1970): 19–112.

20. See Chapter 1, note 31.

21. Stephen A. Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery: Color, Ethnicity, and Human Bondage in Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 184–89; Iris Origo, “The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” *Speculum* 30 (1955): 321–66; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 440.

22. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 321–28; Pierre Macaire, “Majorque et le commerce international (1400–1450 environ)” (Thesis, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1986), 119–20.

23. Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2: 219; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 330–37, 350–57, 546–48; F. Sevillano Colom, “Demografía y esclavos del siglo XV en Mallorca,” *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 34(1973–1975): 160–97; F. Sevillano Colom, “Cautivos sardos en Mallorca (siglo XV),” *Studi Sardi* 21(1968); Evandro Putzulo, “Schiavi sardi a Maiorca nella seconda metà del secolo XV,” *VI Congrès d'histoire de la Corona d'Aragó* (1957), 365–78; J. A. Madurell Marimón, “Vendes d'esclaus sards de guerra a Barcelona en 1374,” *VI Congrès d'histoire de la Corona d'Aragó* (1957), 285–89; Paul Padilla, “The Transport of Muslim Slaves in Fifteenth-Century Valencia,” in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*, ed. Paul E. Chevedden, Donald J. Kagay, and Paul G. Padilla (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 379–91.

24. Antonio Planas Rosselló, “El Mestre de Guaita y la custodia de los esclavos en Mallorca,” *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana*, 52 (1996): 95–128; Ramón Rosselló Vaquer and Jaume Bover, “Esclaus albanesos a Mallorca i Menorca a l'edat mitjana,” *Estudis Baleàrics* 3, 9 (1983): 58–64.

25. Rafael Ginebra y Molins, “Esclavitud a Vic (1401–1405),” *Ausa* 15 (1992): 123–29. The origin of the other slaves was unclear.

26. José Sánchez Herrero, “Cádiz, plaza del comercio de esclavos a finales del siglo XV,” *Gades* 5 (1980): 77–83.

27. Raúl González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga a fines de la Edad Media* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2006), 84; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 65–71.

28. For slavery in the Canaries, Fernando Bruquetas de Castro, *La esclavitud en Lanzarote, 1618–1640* (Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1995); Manuel Lobo Cabrera, “Esclavos indios en Canarias: Precedentes,” *Revista de Indias* 43, 172 (1983): 515–33; idem, *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales en el siglo XVI: Negros, Moros, y Moriscos* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982); Manuela Marrero Rodríguez, *La esclavitud en Tenerife a raíz de la conquista* (La Laguna de Tenerife: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1966); Antonio de la Torre y de Cerro, “Los canarios de Gomera vendidos como

esclavos en 1489,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 7 (1950): 47–72. For general accounts of Canarian history, see Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands After the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982); John Mercer, *The Canary Islanders: Their Prehistory, Conquest and Survival* (London: Rex Collings, 1980); Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, *La integración de las Islas Canarias en la Corona de Castilla, 1478–1526: Aspectos administrativos, sociales y económicos* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, and La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna, 1983). The Guanches were the natives of the island of Tenerife, though the term at times is applied to all native Canarians.

29. Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada and Diputación Provincial, 2000), 70, 151–53.

30. Lobo Cabrera, *Esclavitud en las Canarias*, 66–98; Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *España en el África atlántico*, 2 vols. (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1956), 1:529–63.

31. Lobo Cabrera, *Esclavitud en las Canarias*, 101–30, 143–44.

32. Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, trans. and ed. Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896–1899), 1:81.

33. Vitorino de Magalhães Godinho, *L'économie de l'empire portugais au XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1969); Eugenia W. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa: Copper in Precolonial History and Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Robin Law, *The Horse in West African History: The Role of the Horse in the Societies of Precolonial West Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

34. John Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469–1682* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 59–92; Vitorino de Magalhães Godinho, *O economia dos descobrimentos henriquinos* (Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1962), 202.

35. Alonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 69–70; Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 94–95.

36. A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 12–19.

37. John L. Vogt, “The Lisbon Slave House and African Trade, 1486–1521,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117 (1973): 1–16; Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 8–12, 15–25.

38. Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 17–25.

39. Elbl, “Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade.”

40. Mateo Antonio Páez García, “Esclavos y cautivos en Córdoba en el tránsito a la modernidad,” in *Captius i esclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 209.

41. Pedro Chalmeta Gendrón, *El señor del zoco en España: Edades media y moderna, contribución al estudio de la historia del mercado* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1973), 437–38, 447–48, 471–74.

42. Iván Armenteros Martínez, “‘Si tu non delinquiris’: Conflictividad en torno a la esclavitud en la Barcelona tardomedieval,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 8, 2 (2008):

970. Fabienne Plazolles Guillén, “Les esclaves et affranchis musulmanes et noirs en milieu urbain aux XIV^eme et XV^eme siècles: L'exemple de Barcelone” (Thesis, Université de Paris, III, 1998), 99–108, 501.

43. Cortés Alonso, *Esclavitud en Valencia*, 65–70, 87, 99, 107, 114–20; idem, “Los pasajes de esclavos en Valencia en tiempos de Alfonso V,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980): 791–803; Vicente Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud en Valencia en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Históricos, 1978), 57–68. Leopoldo Piles Ros, “Un factor económico específico: La liberación de esclavos a comienzos del XV en Valencia,” *Actas del IV Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*—Teruel, 17–19 de septiembre de 1987 (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, Diputación Provincial de Teruel, 1992): 282.

44. Armenteros Martínez, “Si tu non delinquiris,” 971n6.

45. This is in contrast with Seville, where newly arrived Africans were preferred in many cases, in large part because they had not been exposed to or converted to Islam and made good Christian converts.

46. Vicenta Cortés, *Esclavitud en Valencia*, 103–6, 130; Claude Carrère, *Barcelone: Centre économique à l'époque des difficultés, 1380–1462*, 2 vols. (Paris: Mouton, 1967), I: 484.

47. Cortés Alonso, *Esclavitud en Valencia*, 79, 82, 91.

48. Jerónimo [Hieronymus] Münzer, “Relación del viaje,” in J. García Mercadal, ed., *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952–62), I:339.

49. Nicolás Cabrillana Cíezar, *Marbella en el Siglo de Oro* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 180–82.

50. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 191, 194–97; Juan María de la Obra Sierra, “Protocolos notariales, fuentes para el estudio de la esclavitud: El esclavo extranjero en la Granada de principios del siglo XVI,” *Anuario de Historia Contemporánea* 12 (1985): 13.

51. Cabrillana, *Marbella en el Siglo de Oro*, 178.

52. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 65–68, 85–86, 121; Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 199–202.

53. Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, “Las redes de la trata negra: Mercaderes portugueses y tráfico de esclavos en Sevilla (c. 1560–1580),” in *La esclavitud negroafricana en la historia de España, siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. Aurelia Martín Casares and Margarita García Barranco, 13, 16–18, 22 (Granada: Comares, 2010); Rocío Perriáñez Gómez, “La introducción de los negros por la frontera extremeña y su distribución posterior,” in *Esclavitud negroafricana*, 34–53; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 74–84; idem, *La esclavitud en Andalucía, 1450–1550* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), 54–64; idem, “La intervención de Portugal en el comercio de esclavos de Andalucía a fines del medievo,” in *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza: La sociedad medieval andaluza: grupos no privilegiados*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez and José Rodríguez Molina (Jaén: Diputación Provincial, 1984): 339–49. For examples of Basque merchants in later centuries, see José Antonio Azpiazu Elorza, *Esclavos y traficantes: Historias ocultas del País Vasco* (Donostia: Txartalo, 1997).

54. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 86.

55. María del Carmen Bosch, “‘Servam et captivam meam.’ Femmes esclaves aux

Baleares, époque moderne,” in *Captius i esclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene Editore, 1996), 183.

56. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 86–87. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 192.

57. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucía*, 203–4.

58. Ibid., 217.

59. Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders*, 111; idem, *The Crusaders' Kingdom of Valencia*, 1:2.

60. Robert I. Burns, S.J., “Regalo para una madre: Una muchacha esclava musulmana del nieto de Abū Zayd, el señor de Borriol (1301),” *Sharq al-Andalus* 6 (1989): 115–17. Despite the “muchacha” in the title, the age of the slave is not specified.

61. María de la Concepción Valenzuela Robles, “La mujer esclava en el ámbito familiar malagueño (1497–1516): Aportación a su historia,” *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía: Las mujeres en la historia de Andalucía, Córdoba, 1991* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1994), 199–206, especially 203. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucía*, 211.

62. Vicenta Cortés, *Esclavitud en Valencia*, 131–33.

63. Antonio Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos en la Murcia del setecientos* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1992), 38.

64. Luis Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén en los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *España y el Norte de África: Bases históricas de una relación fundamental*, ed. Manuel Olmedo Jiménez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1984), 401.

65. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 339–40; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 108; Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 55; Julio Izquierdo Labrado, “La esclavitud en Huelva y Palos a fines del siglo XVI,” *Huelva y su Historia* 6 (1997): 53.

66. Juan Aranda Doncel, “La esclavitud en Córdoba durante los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *Córdoba: Apuntes para su historia*, ed. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1981), 149–70, esp. 161; idem, “La esclavitud en Lucena durante el último tercio del siglo XVI,” in *Apuntes para su historia: 1 Jornadas de historia de Lucena*, ed. José Calvo Poyato (Lucena: Ayuntamiento, 1981), 31–59, especially 41.

67. Bruquetas de Castro, *Esclavitud en Lanzarote*, 142.

68. Pedro Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Cádiz durante el siglo XVIII* (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, 2001), 54.

69. Clara Isabel López Benito, “La sociedad salmantina en los inicios del siglo XVI: Los esclavos,” in *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1992), 56; Aranda Doncel, “Esclavitud en Córdoba,” 162; idem, “Esclavitud en Lucena,” 42; Françoise Orsini-Avila, *Les esclaves de Lucena (1539–1700)* (Paris: Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1997), 19–20.

70. Antonio Manuel González Díaz, *La esclavitud en Ayamonte durante el antiguo régimen* (Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 1996), 71; Bruquetas de Castro, *Esclavitud en Lanzarote*, 94.

71. Parrilla, *Esclavitud en Cádiz*, 54.

72. José Hinojosa Montalvo, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios en el Alicante medieval* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000), 100.

73. Starting points include Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*. In Winter 2001, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* published a special issue, *Race and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*. It was not specifically about slavery. Three of the most wide-reaching articles were Thomas Hahn, “The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Color and Race Before the Modern World,” 1–37; Robert Bartlett, “Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity,” 39–56; and William Chester Jordan, “‘Why ‘Race’?” 165–73. See also David M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003). See also the conclusion of Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009).

74. Pilar Cuello, “Las actividades de las esclavas según Ibn Buṭlān (s. XI) and al-Saqāṭī (ss. XII–XIII),” in *La mujer en al-Andalus: Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, ed. María J. Viguera (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, and Seville: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1989), 202–5.

75. Sevillano Colom, “Demografía y esclavos del siglo XV en Mallorca,” 175; J. N. Hillgarth, “A Greek Slave in Majorca in 1419–26: New Documents,” *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988): 547–48; Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2: 83–87.

76. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucía*, 40–42.

77. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 107.

78. Ibid. In eighteenth-century Murcia, the majority of the slaves were sold at prices from 500 to 1800 reales de vellón. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 69.

79. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 145–47, 155–57.

80. Páez García, “Esclavos y cautivos en Córdoba,” 212n27.

81. Coronas Tejada, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén.”

82. Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 100.

83. Valenzuela Robles, “La mujer esclava,” 202–3.

84. Fabienne Plazolles Guillén, “Barcelona a finales de la Edad Media: ¿Entre mestizaje y conservación biológica?” in *Negros, mulatos, zambaigos: Derroteros africanos en los mundos ibéricos*, ed. Berta Ares Queija and Alessandro Stella (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2000), 21–57.

85. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 169–70.

86. María del Carmen Gómez García and Juan María Martín Vergara, *La esclavitud en Málaga entre los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1993), 29–31.

87. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 72.

88. Francisco Andújar Castillo, “La esclavitud en Almería en el siglo XVII (1621–1627),” *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Historia moderna I* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1995), 291–99, esp. 298–99.

89. Quoted in Kate Lowe, “The Stereotyping of Black Africans in Renaissance Europe,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 22.

90. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 390–92. Slaves were brought into Seville

with brand marks, supporting Martín Casares's assertion. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 74. In early modern Málaga, most unmarked slaves were those born in the household or purchased at a very young age, also supporting Martín Casares's views. Gómez García and Martín Vergara, *Esclavitud en Málaga*, 23. See also Orsini-Avila, *Esclaves de Lucena*, 33. For a general account of mutilation as part of corporal punishment, see Augustin Redondo, "Mutilations et marques corporelles d'infamie dans la Castille du XVI^e siècle," in *Le corps dans la société espagnole des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, ed. Augustin Redondo (Paris: Sorbonne, 1990), 185–99.

91. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 393–94; she is arguing against Alessandro Stella, "Herrado en el rostro con una S y un clavo: l'Homme-animal dans l'Espagne des XV^e–XVIII^e siècles," in *Figures de l'esclave au Moyen-Âge et dans le monde moderne*, ed. Henri Bresc (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 156. For comments supporting the contentions of Martín Casares, see Julio Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud en la baja Andalucía*, 2 vols. (Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 2004), 2: 259. The black slave Ramón Ribot received a branding after repeated attempts at flight. Armenteros Martínez, "Si tu non delinquiris," 986–87n49.

92. Izquierdo Labrado, "Esclavitud en Huelva y Palos," 66–67; Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en la Granada*, 392.

93. López Molina, *Esclavitud en Jaén*, 28–29, 34–35.

94. Izquierdo Labrado, "Esclavitud en Huelva y Palos," 66.

95. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 60.

96. Bernard Rosenberger, "Maquiller l'esclave (al-Andalus XII^e–XIII^e siècles)," in *Les soins de beauté: Moyen Âge–début des temps modernes*, ed. Denis Menjot (Nice: Centre d'Études Médiévales, 1987), 319–46, 329. See also Chalmeta Gendrón, *El señor del zoco en España*.

97. Constable, "Muslim Spain and Mediterranean Slavery," 270–71.

98. Brian A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 224–28.

99. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 91.

CHAPTER 4. TO LIVE AS A SLAVE

Epigraph: *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J., trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), partida IV, título 21, ley 5, 4: 978.

1. The masculine form of the head of the household represents the majority of the cases, though we will also see examples of households over which women presided.

2. See, for example, Louise Mirrer, ed., *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

3. Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada and Diputación Provincial, 2000), 337–38, 406.

She follows Claude Meillasoux in asserting that to consider slaves as part of the family is to fall into apologetic ideology.

4. For examples, see Juan Rodríguez Castellano, “El negro esclavo en el entremés del Siglo de Oro,” *Hispania* 44 (1961): 55–65; L. Fernández Martín, S.J., *Comediantes, esclavos y moriscos en Valladolid, siglos XVI y XVII* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1988); Baltasar Fra Molinero, *La imagen de los negros en el teatro del siglo de oro* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1995).

5. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 95–96, 188, and elsewhere.

6. Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 185–89. For other lists of names of slaves, see María del Carmen Bosch, “‘Servam et captivam meam’: Femmes esclaves aux Balears, époque moderne,” in *Captius i claus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 188; Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, “Los esclavos en la casa ducal de Medina Sidonia (1492–1511),” in *Homenaje al Prof. Jacinto Bosch Vila* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, Departamento de Estudios Semíticos, 1991), 225–32. In late medieval Barcelona, slaves received ordinary names, with “Polissena” and “Lancelot” falling outside the usual pattern. Fabienne Plazolles Guillén, “Esclaves et affranchis musulmans et noirs en milieu urbain aux XIV^eme et XV^eme siècles: L’exemple de Barcelone” (Thesis, Université de Paris, III, 1998), 311. For similar naming patterns in early sixteenth-century Málaga, see María de la Concepción Valenzuela Robles, “La mujer esclava en el ámbito familiar malagueño (1497–1516). Aportación a su historia,” in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía: Las mujeres en la historia de Andalucía* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1994), 203. She found one Muslim slave girl of thirteen “who without being Christian was called Violante.” For late sixteenth-century Huelva, see Julio Izquierdo Labrado, “La esclavitud en Huelva y Palos a fines del siglo XVI,” in *Huelva y su Historia* 6 (1997): 54–55.

7. José Luis Cortés López, “Negros para la Casa de Moneda en Segovia: Un apunte esclavista a finales del XVI,” *Studia Histórica, Historia Moderna* 13 (1995): 119.

8. Antonio Manuel González Díaz, *La esclavitud en Ayamonte durante el antiguo régimen* (Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 1996), 61–63.

9. Jorge Fonseca, *Os escravos em Évora no século XVI* (Évora: Câmara Municipal de Évora, 1997), 23–24. The same thing applied elsewhere in Portugal. A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 90.

10. Manuel Gómez de Valenzuela, “Esclavos moros en Aragón (siglos XI–XVI),” *Argensola* 102 (1989): 123.

11. Claude Larquié, “Les esclaves de Madrid à l’époque de la décadence (1650–1700),” *Revue Historique* 244 (1970): 41–74.

12. Bosch, “‘Servam et captivam meam,’” 189–90. *Setmanera* = a worker paid a weekly wage.

13. Richard Saller, “Slavery and the Roman Family,” *Slavery and Abolition* 8, 1 (1987): 65–88; Ramsey MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven,

Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974), 92–93; Julio Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos en la España romana*. (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1971), 97–107.

14. P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 172–74; Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Howard B. Clarke (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), 42–43.

15. Jonathan E. Brockopp, *Early Mālikī Law: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and his Major Compendium of Jurisprudence* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Shaun E. Marmon, ed. *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1999).

16. Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, *La Espagne catalane et le Maghrib au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 72–73; Robert I. Burns, S.J., *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1: 22, 128.

17. Vicenta Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos, 1479–1516* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1964), 131–33; José Hinojosa Montalvo, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios en el Alicante medieval* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000), 95, reports that late medieval Valencian slaves could possess a peculium. Roser Salicrú i Lluch, *Esclaus i propietaris d'esclaus a la Catalunya del segle XV: L'assurance contra fugues* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1998); Miguel Gual Camarena, “Un seguro contra crímenes de esclavos en el siglo XV,” *Anuario de Historia de Derecho Española* 23 (1953): 247–58. For an example of slaves pledged for debts, see Robert I. Burns, S.J., “Muslims as Property: Slavery Episodes in the Realms of Aragon, 1244–1291,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–1998): 69. For Barcelona, Roser Salicrú i Lluch, “Slaves in the Professional and Family Life of Craftsmen in the Late Middle Ages,” in *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secc. XIII–XVIII/The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2009), 327.

18. Antonio Planas Rosselló, “El Mestre de Guaita y la custodia de los esclavos en Mallorca,” *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana: Revista d'Estudis Històrics* 52 (1996): 95–128.

19. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 232–33.

20. Bartolomé Bennassar, *Valladolid au siècle d'or: Une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1967), 469.

21. For a recent detailed discussion, making use of contemporary feminist theory and comparative reading in slavery across time and geography, see Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 236–59. See also Gwyn Campbell, Joseph C. Miller, and Suzanne Miers, eds., *Women and Slavery*, 2 vols. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007).

22. Rafael Ginebra i Molins, “Esclavitud a Vic (1401–1405),” *Ausa* 15, 128–29 (1992): 121.

23. Marc Torras i Serra, “L'Esclavisme a Manresa en el segle XV,” in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 297–98.

24. María Isabel Falcón Pérez, “Los esclavos domésticos en Zaragoza en el siglo XV,” in Ferrer, ed., *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat*, 367–77.

25. Izquierdo Labrado, "La esclavitud en Hueva y Palos," 52.
26. María del Carmen Gómez García and Juan María Martín Vergara, *La esclavitud en Málaga entre los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1993), 33.
27. Juan Aranda Doncel, "Los esclavos en Jaén durante el último tercio del siglo XVI," in *Homenaje a Antonio Domínguez Ortiz* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1981), 237.
28. Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 107.
29. Salicrú i Lluch, "Slaves in the Professional and Family Life," 326n8.
30. Juan Aranda Doncel, "La esclavitud en Córdoba durante los siglos XVI y XVII," in *Córdoba: Apuntes para su historia*, ed. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1981), 155.
31. Juan Aranda Doncel, "La esclavitud en Lucena durante el último tercio del siglo XVI," in *Lucena: Apuntes para su historia* (Lucena: Ayuntamiento, 1981): 38.
32. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales en el siglo XVI: Negros, Moros, y Moriscos* (Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982).
33. Fernando Bruquetas de Castro, *La esclavitud en Lanzarote, 1618–1640* (Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1995), 54.
34. Antonio Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos en la Murcia del setecientos* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1992), 58.
35. The most extreme view—that women slaves were purchased above all to satisfy their purchasers' sexual desires—is found in Alessandro Stella, "Des esclaves pour la liberté sexuelle de leurs maîtres (Europe occidentale, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)," *Clio: Histoire, Femmes, Société* 5 (1997). For a cogent argument against this view, see Salicrú i Lluch, "Slaves in the Professional and Family Life," 340–41.
36. Comments on slaves and sex can be found in most recent works on Roman slavery cited in this chapter.
37. Wiebke Walther, *Women in Islam, From Medieval to Modern Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1999), 68.
38. Concerning matrimonial rules and the complications of slavery, see Pierre Guichard, *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane* (Paris: Mouton, 1977) 42–43, 78–79; Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 2nd ed. of *The Sociology of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 64, 79–80, 111; Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 127–66. Further complications arose for the marital status of Muslim slaves held in Christian territory. See P. S. van Koningsveld, "Muslim Slaves and Captives in Western Europe During the Late Middle Ages," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 6, 1 (1995): 6. For concubinage, see Brockopp, *Early Mālikī Law*, 156, 192–3137, 196; Yasin Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law: The Qurʾān, the Muwaṭṭaʾ and Madīnan ʿAmal* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1999), 68–69, 91; Cristiana de la Puente, "Slaves in Al-Andalus Through Wathāʾiq Works (4th–6th Centuries A.H./10th–12th Centuries C.E.): Marriage and Slavery as Factors of Social Categorisation," *Annales Islamologiques* 42 (2008): 192–95; idem, "Entre la esclavitud y la libertad: consecuencias legales de la manumisión según el derecho malikí," *Al-Qantara* 21 (2000): 342–44.

39. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 2: 143–44; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1993), 2: 349.

40. Walther, *Women in Islam*, 101, 165–66. S. D. Goitein, “Slaves and Slave Girls in the Cairo Geniza Records,” *Arabica* 9 (1962): 1–20.

41. Arié, *España musulmana*, 124, 170–71; David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Decline of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 24–25, 31, 61, 100.

42. Al-Sharishī in Nehemia Levtzion and J. F. Hopkins, eds., *Corpus of Arabic Sources Relating to West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 153.

43. Manuel Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390–1481)* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995), 218. See José María de Cossío, “Cautivos de moros en el siglo XIII: El texto de Pero Marín,” *Al Andalus* 7 (1942): 49–112.

44. Plazolles Guillén, “Esclaves et affranchis,” 190–94. In early seventeenth-century Seville, officials of the archbishopric issued rules recommending that masters prevent their women slaves from sexual activity outside matrimony, particularly when the masters hoped to gain from the profits derived from the sale of their offspring. Françoise Orsini-Avila, *Les esclaves de Lucena (1539–1700)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1997), 21.

45. Bosch, “Servam et captivam meam,” 181–82.

46. Pere de Montaner Alonso, “Amos y esclavos en la Mallorca moderna,” in *Captius i esclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 277.

47. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 214–15.

48. Ibid., 215. Cataño's notarial document appears in full at 197–98.

49. Rafael Torres Sánchez, “La esclavitud en Cartagena en los siglos XVII y XVIII,” *Contrastes* 2 (1986): 97–98.

50. Francisco Fajardo Spínola, “El maltrato de los esclavos en documentos de la Inquisición canaria,” in *Homenaje a Antonio de Béthencourt Massieu* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1995), 1: 579.

51. Bosch, “Servam et captivam meam,” 191.

52. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 844.

53. Lobo Cabrera, *Esclavitud en las Canarias*, 244–46.

54. Plazolles Guillén, “Esclaves et affranchis,” 173–74. We should not forget that wet-nursing could well mean deprivation or death for the nurse's own child. Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 14–21. See also Rebecca Lynn Winer, “Conscripting the Breast: Lactation, Slavery and Salvation in the Realms of Aragon and Kingdom of Majorca, c. 1250–1300,” *Journal of Medieval History* 34, 2 (2008): 164–84.

55. Bartolomé Bennassar, *The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Benjamin Keen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 208.

56. King, *Law and Society*, 171, 182; Alfons Dopsch, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (New York: Fertig, 1969), 233, 253.

57. Puente, "Slaves in Al-Andalus Through Wathá'iq Works," 187–212.

58. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 214. Slaves in the late medieval Christian kingdom of Valencia could contract marriage, but if they did so they remained slaves. Hinojosa, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios*, 95.

59. Martín, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 363–66. For examples of early modern masters who refused to allow their slaves to marry and the intervention of clerical officials on behalf of the slaves in such cases, see Bernard Vincent, "The Affective Life of Slaves in the Iberian Peninsula during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Sex and Love in Golden Age Spain*, ed. Alain Saint-Saëns (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1996), 71–78.

60. Martín, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 369.

61. Bartolomé Bennassar, "Les parentés de l'invention: Enfants abandonnés et esclaves," in *Les parentés fictives en Espagne, XVIe–XVIIe siècles*, ed. Augustin Redondo (Paris: Sorbonne, 1988), 99.

62. Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 119–27; idem, "Mujeres esclavas y collegia de la Hispania altoimperial," in *Femmes-esclaves: Modèles d'interprétation anthropologique, économique, juridique*, ed. Francesca Reduzzi Merola and Alfredina Storch Marino (Naples: Jovene, 1999), 343–54. For the Greek freedmen and the cults, see Jaime Alvar Ezquerro, "Integración social de los esclavos y dependientes en la Península Ibérica a través de los cultos místicos," in *Religion et anthropologie de l'esclavage et des formes de dépendance*, ed. Jacques Annequin and Marguerite Garrido-Hory (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1994), 281.

63. Translated by David Nirenberg in Olivia Remie Constable, ed., *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 16.

64. J. N. Hillgarth, "Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain," in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 38, 46; E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 229, 305; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 99–100; Robert Latouche, *The Birth of Western Economy: Economic Aspects of the Dark Ages*, trans. E. M. Wilkinson (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 304; Pierre Dockès, *Medieval Slavery and Liberation*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 36–37.

65. Robert I. Burns, S.J., "Journey from Islam: Incipient Cultural Transition in the Conquest Kingdom of Valencia (1240–1280)," *Speculum* 35 (1960): 337–56 (the discussion appears on 340–44, quote 344).

66. From Orsini-Avila, *Esclaves de Lucena*, 91. Citing *Nueva Recopilación* (1626), T. III, Libro VIII, Tit. II, Auto IV.

67. J. Tardieu, "Les noirs en Espagne aux Xe, XVIe, et XVIIe siècles," *Langues Néo-Latines* 77 (1983): 27–44.

68. There were exceptions, of course, for some African animists continued their traditions and ran into trouble with the Inquisition. See Aurelia Martín Casares, "Cristianos, musulmanes y animistas en Granada: Identidades religiosas y sincretismo cultural," in *Negros, mulatos, zambaigos: Derroteros africanos en los mundos ibéricos*, ed. Berta Ares Queija

and Alessandro Stella (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2000), 207–21, esp. 215–16. Elsewhere, Martín Casares (*Esclavitud en Granada*, 414) argues that the church was less concerned about the animist beliefs of the sub-Saharan slaves than about the Islamic faith of the North Africans, because the animists were far away and posed no threat, unlike the Muslims.

69. Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 173, 186–88; Juan Aranda Doncel, “Estructura de la población morisca en tres parroquias sevillanas: San Julián, San Román y Santa Lucía,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba de Ciencias, Bellas Artes y Nobles Artes* 45 (1976): 77–84. The situation was similar in early sixteenth-century Granada. Juan María de la Obra Sierra, “Protocolos notariales, fuentes para el estudio de la esclavitud: El esclavo extranjero en la Granada de principios del siglo XVI,” *Anuario de Historia Contemporánea* 12 (1985): 11. In the eighteenth century, the same social but not economic preference for black slaves over Muslim ones seems to have continued. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 23.

70. Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, 173–74, 180–81, 186–88; idem, “Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47 (1967): 344–59.

71. Alfonso Franco Silva, “Precedentes de la abolición de la esclavitud: Los libertos andaluces en los siglos XV y XVI,” in *Esclavitud y derechos humanos: La lucha por la libertad del negro en el siglo XIX*, ed. Francisco de Solano and Agustín Guimerá (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), 19–23; idem, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 222–23; Isidoro Moreno Navarro, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla: Etnicidad, poder y sociedad en 600 años de historia* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1997); Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 161; Joaquín Rodríguez Mateos, “De los esclavos y marginados: Dios de blancos y piedad de negros, la cofradía de los morenos de Sevilla,” in *Actas II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, Historia Moderna* (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía and Cajasur, 1995), 569–82; Ignacio Camacho Martínez, *La hermandad de los mulatos de Sevilla: Antecedentes históricos de la Hermandad del Calvario* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1998), 60–61, 68–70. Similar religious brotherhoods had existed in Spain in Roman times. Manuel Morales Cara, *La esclavitud en las colonias romanas de Andalucía* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 191–92.

72. Iván Armenteros Martínez, “‘Si tu non delinquiris.’ Conflictividad en torno al la esclavitud en la Barcelona tardomedieval,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 8, 2 (2008): 1004–5.

73. Debra Blumenthal, “‘La Casa dels Negres’: Black African Solidarity in Late Medieval Valencia,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 225–46. See also Miguel Gual Camarena, “Una cofradía de negros libertos en el siglo XV,” *Estudios de la Edad Media en la Corona de Aragón* 5 (1952): 457–66.

74. Martín, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 422–23. Vittorio Morabito, “San Benedetto il Moro, da Palermo, protettore degli africani de Siviglia, della penisola iberica e d’America Latina,” in *Negros, mulatos, zambaigos: Derroteros africanos en los mundos ibéricos*, ed.

Berta Ares Queija and Alessandro Stella (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2000), 223–73.

75. Rafael Ortega Sagrista, “La cofradía de los Negros en el Jaén del siglo XVII.” *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses* 4, 12 (1957): 125–34; Luis Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén en los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *España y el Norte de África: Bases históricas de una relación fundamental*, ed. Manuel Olmedo Jiménez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1984), 404.

76. Gómez García and Martín Vergara, *La esclavitud en Málaga*, 44–47.

77. *Ibid.*, 93–95. I have added punctuation but have left the names as they appear in the transcription.

78. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 22; Pedro Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Cádiz durante el siglo XVIII* (Cádiz: Diputación Provincial, 2001), 160–64. For an earlier study of the Cádiz brotherhoods, see Hipólito Sancho de Soprani, *Las cofradías de morenos en Cádiz* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1958).

79. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *Los libertos en la sociedad canaria del siglo XVI* (Madrid and Tenerife: C.S.I.C. and Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1983).

80. José Ramos Tinhorão, *Os negros em Portugal: Uma presença silenciosa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1988), 122–34. Didier Lahon, “Exclusion, intégration et métissage dans les confréries noires au Portugal (XVIe–XIXe siècles),” in *Negros, mulatos, zambaios*, ed. Ares Queija and Stella, 275–311.

81. Francisco Sevillano Colom, “Demografía y esclavos del siglo XV en Mallorca,” *Boletín de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 24 (1973–75): 175. J. N. Hillgarth, “A Greek Slave in Majorca in 1419–26,” *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988): 549. Ramón Rosselló Vaquer and Jaume Bover, “Esclaus albanesos a Mallorca i Menorca a l’edat mitjana,” *Estudis Baleàrics* 3, 9 (1983): 61.

82. Isaiás da Rosa Pereira, “Dois compromissos de irmandades de homens pretos,” *Arqueologia e História* 4 (1972): 9–47; Didier Lahon, “Les confréries de noirs à Lisbonne et leurs privilèges royaux d’affranchissement: Relations avec le pouvoir (XVIe–XIXe siècles),” in *Esclavage et dépendances serviles: Histoire comparée*, ed. Myriam Cottias, Alessandro Stella, and Bernard Vincent (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2006), 195–215; Didier Lahon, *O negro no coração do império: Uma memória a resgatar, Séculos XV–XIX* (Lisbon: Ministério de Educação and Casa do Brasil, 1999), 57–76.

83. Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 149–65.

84. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*; Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 423.

85. Tinhorão, *Negros em Portugal*, 115.

86. Lahon, *O negro*, 70–76.

87. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 201, 224–26. Martín, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 376.

88. Cortés López, “Negros para la Casa de la Moneda,” 119–30. The documents do not state many particulars about the nine slaves, and we cannot determine how long they may have been in Lisbon before they were sold. One of them, named Pedro, was listed as a native of “Massicongo.” The origins of the other eight are not indicated.

89. Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of

Chicago Press, 1964), 2: 361–62; King, *Law and Society*, 48, 170–71; Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, 269–71.

90. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 21, ley 6, Burns ed., 4: 979.

91. For discussion of estimations of the slave population of Mallorca, see the Introduction.

92. Pierre Macaire, “Majorque et le commerce international (1400–1450 environ)” (Thesis, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1986), 130; Ricardo Soto Company, “La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca després de la conquesta catalana de 1230,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 30 (1994): 167–206. María Dolores López Pérez, “Sobre la trata de esclavos magrebies: El aprovisionamiento de los mercados catalanoaragoneses (siglo XIV),” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat*, ed. Ferrer i Mallol and Mutgé i Vives, 45–46. Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, *La Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 72–73; Robert I. Burns, S.J., *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), 109–10, 250, 252, 260; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 1:492–95; Bosch, “Servam et captivam meam,” 200. This also happened in Sicily. Henri Bresc, “L’Esclave dans le monde méditerranéen des XIVe et XVe siècles: Problèmes politiques, religieux et moraux,” in *XIII Congrès d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó* (Palma de Mallorca: Institut d’Estudis Balearics, 1987), 1:94.

93. Josefina Mutgé Vives, *La ciudad de Barcelona durante el reinado de Alfonso el Benigno (1327–1336)* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1987), 138.

94. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 101, 176. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 203–210, 216–21, 223. Ángel Luis Molina Molina, “Contribución al estudio de la esclavitud en Murcia a fines de la Edad Media (1475–1516),” *Murgetana* 53 (1978): 115–16.

95. *Siete Partidas*, partida VII, título 15, ley 7, Burns ed., 5:1397.

96. Larquí, “Les esclaves de Madrid,” 69–71; Fajardo Spínola, “Maltrato de los esclavos,” 1:572–75.

97. Luis Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén,” 400. Unfortunately, the court’s final decision is not available.

98. Fajardo Spínola, “Maltrato de los esclavos,” 1: 565–68. See also the case of José de Santa Ana, discussed above. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 117–20.

99. Nicolás Cabrillana Cíezar, *Marbella en el Siglo de Oro* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 183.

100. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 224.

101. Anthony Bonner, ed. and trans., *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader, Including The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, trans. Eve Bonner (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 16–17. Larry J. Simon, “The Church and Slavery in Ramon Llull’s Majorca,” in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J.*, 2 vols., ed. Larry J. Simon, Paul E. Cheveddan, D. J. Kagay, and Paul G. Padilla (Leiden: Brill, 1995–96), 1:345–63.

102. Vincent, “Affective Life of Slaves,” 71.

CHAPTER 5. TO WORK AS A SLAVE

Epigraph: Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 81.

1. For specific comments on these points, see Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2000), 327–29, 334; and Mateo Antonio Pérez García, “Esclavos y cautivos en Córdoba en el tránsito a la modernidad,” in *Captius i esclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 230–31. Such references could be multiplied easily.

2. Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars*, 81.

3. This observation has often been made. See, for example, Alessandro Stella and Bernard Vincent, “L’esclavage en Espagne à l’époque moderne: Acquis et nouvelles orientations,” in *Captius i esclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene Editore, 1996), 298. For a close analysis, see Roser Salicrú i Lluç, “L’esclau com a inversió? Aprofitament, assalariament i rendibilitat del treball esclau en l’entorn català tardomedieval,” *Recerques* 52–53 (2006): 49–85.

4. Thomas Wiedemann suggested that the normal number of slaves for an average household in ancient times was one or two: *Greek and Roman Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 99–100. For comments on the lack of extensive evidence for household slavery in Roman Spain, see José María Blázquez, *Historia económica de la Hispania romana* (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1978), 439; Julio Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos en la España romana* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1971), 91.

5. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1999), 1: 94, 135, 143, 145; Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 2nd ed. of *The Sociology of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 77.

6. Fernando de la Granja, “La venta de la esclava en el mercado,” *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos* 13 (1965–1966): 119–36; Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols. (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1950–1967), 3: 178–79, 209, 314–17. For a comprehensive study of markets, see Pedro Chalmeta Gendró, *El señor del zoco en España: Edades media y moderna, contribución al estudio de la historia del mercado* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1973).

7. Roser Salicrú i Lluç, *Esclaus i propietaris d’esclaus a la Catalunya del segle XV: l’assurance contra fugues* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1998), 80–81 and appendices; Josep Hernando, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona: Blancs, negres, llocs i turcs: De l’esclavitud a la llibertat (s. xiv)* (Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanels, 2003), 153–69.

8. Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, “Contribución al estudio de los esclavos en la Sevilla medieval,” in *Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo*, ed. Luis Núñez Contreras (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1972), 2:111–12. Collantes de Terán noted that his documents provided no information about slave owning by the nobility in Seville. Alonso Franco Silva,

La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 193–97.

9. Javier Gallego Dueñas, “Algunos aspectos sobre la esclavitud bajomedieval y alto-moderna (Rota, 1520–1550),” in *Actas II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía: Historia Moderna* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1995), 429.

10. Juan Aranda Doncel, “La esclavitud en Córdoba durante los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *Córdoba: Apuntes para su historia*, ed. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1981): 165–68. Aranda Doncel found essentially the same breakdown for Lucena at the same period. “La esclavitud en Lucena durante el último tercio del siglo XVI,” in *Apuntes para su historia: 1 Jornadas de historia de Lucena*, ed. José Calvo Potayo (Lucena: Ayuntamiento, 1981): 47. He also found a similar pattern for Jaén: nobility 15.78 percent, clergy 9.47 percent, and third estate 74.73 percent. Juan Aranda Doncel, “Los esclavos en Jaén durante el último tercio del siglo XVI,” *Homenaje a Antonio Domínguez Ortiz* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1981), 249.

11. Luis Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén en los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *España y el Norte de África: Bases históricas de una relación fundamental*, ed. Manuel Olmedo Jiménez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1984), 402.

12. Clara Isabel López Benito, “La sociedad salmantina en los inicios del siglo XVI: Los esclavos,” in *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1992): 58.

13. Rebecca Lynn Winer, “Conscripting the Breast: Lactation, Slavery and Salvation in the Realms of Aragon and Kingdom of Majorca, c. 1250–1300,” *Journal of Medieval History* 34, 2 (2008): 164–84. See also Hernando, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona*, 150–52.

14. Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 71, 74, 81–91; For occupations throughout the Roman world see, Wiedemann, ed. *Greek and Roman Slavery*, selections 130–33, 137, 192, pages 125–28, 130, 177.

15. Two prominent Spanish scholars have pointed out how little is known about rural labor in Islamic Spain, especially the social conditions of mine workers. Cristina de la Puente, “Mano de obra esclava en Al-Andalus,” 136–39; Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, “Explotación y mano de obra en las minas y salinas de Al-Andalus,” 73; both in *Minas y esclavos en la Península Ibérica y el Maghreb en la Edad Media*, ed. Ana Echevarría and Cristina de la Puente, *España, Tiempo y Forma* ser. 3, *Historia Medieval* 23 (2010).

16. A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 58, 86.

17. Vicenta Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos, 1479–1516* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1964), 124–27, 130.

18. Pierre Bonnassie, *La organización del trabajo en Barcelona a fines del siglo XV* (Barcelona: Institución Mila y Fontanals, 1975); Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 201.

19. Salicrú i Lluç, “L’esclau com a inversió?” 68.

20. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 301–2, 329.

21. Collantes de Terán, “Contribución,” 111–12; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 194; Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 303–9. For comments on the merchants who

owned slaves, see Nicholas Lansley, “La esclavitud negra en la parroquia sevillana de Santa María la Mayor, 1515–1519,” *Archivo Hispalense* 203 (1984): 53–55. Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 183–85; idem, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 40. For the slaves of Alejo Fernández, see Carla Rahn Phillips, “Visualizing Imperium: *The Virgin of the Seafarers* and Spain’s Self-Image in the Early Sixteenth Century,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 58, 3 (2005): 825.

22. Roser Salicrú i Lluch, “Slaves in the Professional and Family Life of Craftsmen in the Late Middle Ages,” In *La famiglia nell’economia europea, secc. XIII–XVIII/The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2009), 328–31; Iván Armenteros Martínez, “‘Si tu non delinquiris’: Conflictividad en torno al la esclavitud en la Barcelona tardomedieval,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 8, 2 (2008): 1002–3.

23. Debra Blumenthal, “Defending Their Masters’ Honour: Slaves as Violent Offenders in Fifteenth-Century Valencia,” in “*A Great Effusion of Blood?*” *Interpreting Medieval Violence*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 34–56.

24. Julio Izquierdo Labrado, “La esclavitud en Huelva y Palos a fines del siglo XVI,” *Huelva y su Historia* 6 (1997): 58–59, 62.

25. Coronas Tejada, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén,” 403. One could also posit that the term “black ovens” came from the soot that their charcoal fires produced.

26. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales en el siglo XVI: Negros, moros, y moriscos* (Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982), 238–45.

27. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1: 78, 133–34, 164.

28. Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Andalucía, 1450–1550* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), 196–97.

29. Ibid., 207.

30. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 193–96, 200; Claude Larquié, “Les esclaves de Madrid à l’époque de la décadence (1650–1700),” *Revue Historique* 244 (1970): 68–69; Juan de la Mata Carriazo, “Negros, esclavos y extranjeros en el barrio sevillano de San Bernardo (1617–1629),” *Archivo Hispalense* 20 (1954): 121–33; Antonio Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos en la Murcia del setecientos* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1992), 93; Rafael Torres Sánchez, “La esclavitud en Cartagena en los siglos XVII y XVIII,” *Contrastes* 2 (1986): 96–97; Collantes de Terán, “Contribución,” 121; Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 305, 330. For Mallorca, see Pierre Macaire, “Majorque et le commerce international (1400–1450 environ)” (Thesis, Université de Paris IV, 1986). For a similar pattern Ayamonte in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Antonio Manuel González Díaz, *La esclavitud en Ayamonte durante el Antiguo Régimen* (Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 1996), 78–79.

31. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978), 265–66.

32. Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 62–68, 72–80; Charles Verlinden,

L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale, vol. 1, *Péninsule ibérique-France* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1955), 838.

33. Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 62–80.

34. Francisco Andújar Castillo, "La esclavitud en Almería en el siglo XVII (1621–1627)," in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Córdoba, 1991, Historia moderna I* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1995), 293–96; idem, "Del esclavo morisco al berberisco: Sobre la esclavitud en la Almería del siglo XVII," *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Almerienses* 11–12 (1992–93): 88–91.

35. Blázquez, *Historia económica de la Hispania romana*, 438; Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 71, 76–77; José María Blázquez, "L'esclavage dans les exploitations agricoles de l'Hispania romaine," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 8 (1972): 634–39. One of the most important Roman writers on agriculture and slavery was Columella, who was born in the first century in Gades (modern Cádiz) and later moved to central Italy, where he owned a series of farms.

36. José Orlandis, *Historia social y económica de la España visgoda* (Madrid: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros, 1975), 98; P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 160, 162, 164, 169–70; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 1: 80–86.

37. The exceptions: The eleventh-century Karmatian state had a labor force of 30,000 black slaves. E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 166; Graham W. Irwin, ed., *Africans Abroad: A Documentary Survey of Black Diaspora in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean During the Age of Slavery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 106–7. A large slave labor force worked in North Africa in the ninth century; Mohammed Talbi, "Law and Economy in Ifriqiya (Tunisia) in the Third Islamic Century: Agriculture and the Role of Slaves in the Country's Economy," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1981), 209–49. Many African slaves and ex-slaves known as the Zanj worked in the fields in lower Mesopotamia in the ninth century. Alexandre Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au II^e/IX^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1976); see also the English version, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the IIIrd/IXth Century*, trans. Léon King (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1999).

38. Hernando, *El esclavismo islámico a Barcelona*, 6, 166; Fabienne Plazolles Guillen, "Les esclaves et les affranchis musulmans et noirs en milieu urbain aux XI^e et XV^e siècles: L'exemple de Barcelone" (Thesis, Université de Paris, III, 1998), 157–72.

39. Macaire, "Majorque et le commerce international," 123–24; F. Sevillano Colom, "Demografía y esclavos del siglo XV en Mallorca," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 34(1973–1975): 160–97. For a discussion of the population of slaves in late medieval Mallorca, see the Introduction of the present volume.

40. Coronas Tejeda, "Esclavitud africana en Jaén," 402.

41. Izquierdo Labrado, "La esclavitud en Huelva y Palos," 58–59, 62.

42. Torres Sánchez, “Esclavitud en Cartagena,” 99: 20 percent were artisans; professionals, merchants, officials, and nobles accounted for 71 percent (figures rounded).

43. Bernard Vincent, “La esclavitud en Málaga en 1581,” in *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1987), 250–54. The slaves in the census were all of North African or Turkish origin. Other scholars have followed Vincent’s lead; see, for example, Andújar Castillo, “Del esclavo morisco al berberisco,” 93–95. See also María de la Concepción Valenzuela Robles, “La mujer esclava en el ámbito familiar malagueño (1497–1516). Aportación a su historia,” in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía: Las mujeres en la historia de Andalucía* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1994), 204. See also Bernard Vincent, “L’esclavage en milieu rural espagnol au XVII^e siècle XVII^e,” in *Figures de l’esclave au Moyen Age et dans le monde moderne*, ed. Henri Bresc (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1996), 165–72.

44. Manuel Garrido Abolafia, *Los esclavos bautizados en Santa Cruz de la Palma (1564–1600)* (Santa Cruz de la Palma: Ayuntamiento, 1994), 26.

45. Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 69–71.

46. *Ibid.*, 86–87.

47. Late twentieth-century interest in the history of Spanish sugar production gave rise to a number of publications, many of them edited by Antonio Malpica Cuello. *La caña de azúcar en tiempos de los grandes descubrimientos (1450–1550): Actas del Primer Seminario Internacional, Motril, 25–28 de septiembre 1989* (hereafter *Actas Motril* 1989) (Motril: Junta de Andalucía and Ayuntamiento de Motril, 1990); *La caña de azúcar en el Mediterráneo: Actas del Segundo Seminario Internacional, Motril, 17–21 de septiembre 1990* (hereafter *Actas Motril* 1990) (Motril: Junta de Andalucía and Ayuntamiento de Motril, 1991); *Producción y comercio del azúcar de caña en época preindustrial: Actas del Tercer Seminario Internacional, Motril, 23–27 Septiembre 1991* (hereafter *Actas Motril* 1991) (Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1993); 1492: *Lo dulce a la conquista de Europa: Actas del Cuarto Seminario Internacional sobre la Caña de Azúcar, Motril, 21–25 de septiembre de 1992* (*Actas Motril* 1992) (Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1994); *Paisajes del azúcar: Actas del Quinto Seminario Internacional sobre la Caña de Azúcar, Motril, 20–24 de septiembre de 1993* (*Actas Motril* 1993) (Granada: Diputación, 1995). For a short summary, see William D. Phillips, Jr., “Sugar in Iberia,” in *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 27–41. For material that appeared before the Motril conferences, see J. H. Galloway, “The Mediterranean Sugar Industry,” *Geographical Review* 67/72 (1977): 177–194; *idem*, *The Sugar Cane Industry: An Historical Geography from its Origins to 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Alain Huetz de Lemp, “Une culture originale de l’Espagne: La canne à sucre,” in *La canne à sucre: En Espagne, au Pérou, en Équateur*, ed. Anne Collin-Delavaud and Alain Huetz de Lemp (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1983), 9–39; William D. Phillips, Jr., “Sugar Production and Trade in the Mediterranean at the Time of the Crusades,” in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. Goss and C. V. Bornstein (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute, 1986), 393–406; José Pérez Vidal, *La cultura de la caña de azúcar en el Levante español* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1973).

48. Antonio Malpica Cuello, “Arqueología y azúcar: Estudio de un conjunto preindustrial azucarero en el Reino de Granada: La Palma (Motril),” *Actas Motril* 1990, 124,

indirectly comments on the lack of studies of labor in the Spanish sugar industry. Thomas F. Glick, "Regadío y técnicas hidráulicas en al-Andalus, su difusión según un eje Este-Oeste," *Actas Motril* 1989, 83–98; and Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); summarized in idem, "Innovaciones agrícolas en el mundo islámico," *Actas Motril* 1990, 7–20. Expiración García Sánchez, "El azúcar en la alimentación de los andalusíes," *Actas Motril* 1989, 209–35; idem, "Caña de azúcar y cultivos asociados en al-Andalus," *Actas Motril* 1993, 41–68; Lucie Bolens, "La canne à sucre dans l'agriculture d'al-Andalus," *Actas Motril* 1989, 39–58. Adela Fábregas García, *Motril y el azúcar: Comerciantes italianos y judíos en el reino de Granada* (Motril: Ingenio, 1996), 43–45, 94–115, 119–32, 146–84; Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 232–33; Antonio Malpica Cuello, "Medio físico y territorio: El ejemplo de la caña de azúcar a finales de la Edad Media," *Actas Motril* 1993, 5–40; Pérez, *Caña de azúcar*, 41–45. Efforts to establish sugar production in Murcia came to little. María Martínez Martínez, "Producción de azúcar en Murcia: Un proyecto fracasado del siglo XV," *Actas Motril* 1992, 141–62; Cláudio Torres, "A indústria do açúcar nos alvares da expansão atlântica portuguesa," *Actas Motril* 1990, 183–206; Henrique Gomes de Amorim Parreira, "História do açúcar em Portugal," *Anais: Estudos da História da Geografia e Expansão Portuguesa* 7 (1952): 1–15. See the comments of Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 69–71. More generally, see José Ramos Tinhorão, *Os negros em Portugal: Uma presença silenciosa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1988).

49. The most recent work is Alberto Vieira, "Sugar Islands: The Sugar Economy of Madeira and the Canaries, 1450–1650," in Schwartz, ed., *Tropical Babels*, 42–84. See also, Sidney M. Greenfield, "Madeira and the Beginnings of New World Sugar Cane Cultivation and Plantation Slavery: A Study in Institution Building," in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies*, ed. Vera D. Rubin and Arthur Tuden (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977), 536–52.

50. García, "Caña de azúcar y cultivos asociados," *Actas Motril* 1993, 68.

51. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands After the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 39, 79–86, 202. On the Canarian sugar cane industry, see Vieira, "Sugar Islands"; Guillermo Camacho y Pérez-Galdos, "El cultivo de la caña de azúcar y la industria azucarera en Gran Canaria (1510–1535)," *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 7 (1961): 1–60; Lobo Cabrera, *Esclavitud en las Canarias*, 232–37.

52. "Por ser las principales haciendas que ay en ella [Gran Canaria] yngenios de azúcar y biñas y no por tener esclavos que las labren y cultiven cada día bienen en mucha disminución." Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *España en el Africa atlántica*, 2 vols. (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1956) 1:556.

53. Lobo Cabrera, *Esclavitud en las Canarias*, 238–45.

54. Vieira, "Sugar Islands," 56–61.

55. Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 98–99.

56. For an introduction to the considerable amount of recent work, see Almudena

Orejas and Inés Sastre, “Origines de la main-d’oeuvre dans les mines romaines de la Péninsule Ibérique,” in *Routes et marches d’esclaves*, ed. Marguerite Garrido-Hory (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2002), 83–93. See also P. R. Lewis and G. D. B. Jones, “Roman Gold Mining in Northwest Spain,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1970): 169–85.

57. Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 78–79; 108–9.

58. Orlandis, *Historia social y económica*, 96, 97; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 81, 678–79.

59. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 215.

60. The most recent scholarly account is that of Mohamed Meouak, *Ṣaḡāliba, eunuques et esclaves à la conquête du pouvoir: Géographie et histoire des élites politiques “marginales” dans l’Espagne umayyade* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2004).

61. On the church and slavery, Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). See also, Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 99–100, 702–5; King, *Law and Society*, 151; Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s, 1995), 101; E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 47–48, 299, 305; Alfons Dopsch, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (New York: Fertig, 1969), 250–51, 267, 272; Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Howard B. Clarke (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), 32–33.

62. Dietrich Claude, “Freedmen in the Visigothic Kingdom,” in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 176–78.

63. José Luis Cortés López, “Esclavos en medios eclesiásticos entre los siglos XII–XIV: Apuntes para el estudio de la esclavitud en la Edad Media,” *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* ser. 3, 5 (1992): 423–40.

64. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 313–15; Maria-Mercè Costa i Paretas, “Els esclaus del monestir de Jonqueres,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l’edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 297–308; Josep Maria Sans i Travé, “Els Templars catalans, propietaris d’esclaus,” in *ibid.*, 309–24.

65. Manuel Gómez de Valenzuela, “Esclavos moros en Aragón (siglos XI–XVI),” *Argensola* 102 (1989): 115–32, especially 122–23.

66. P. S. van Koningsveld, “Muslim Slaves and Captives in Western Europe During the Late Middle Ages,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 6, 1 (1995): 10–11.

67. José Luis Cortés López, “Negros para la Casa de Moneda en Segovia: Un apunte esclavista a finales del siglo XV,” *Studia Histórica, Historia Moderna*, 13 (1995): 119–30.

68. Ruth Pike, *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 90.

69. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 103–4; Torres Sánchez, “Esclavitud en Cartagena,” 83–84, 89.

70. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, “Unas cuentas en Cádiz (1485–1486),” *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 2–3 (1974–75): 84–120; *idem*, “Los esclavos en la casa ducal de Medina Sidonia (1492–1511),” in *Homenaje al Prof. Jacinto Bosch Vila* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, Departamento de Estudios Semíticos, 1991), 225–32; José Sanchez Herrero,

“Cádiz, plaza del comercio de esclavos a finales del siglo XV,” *Gades* 5 (1980): 77–83; Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 319, 325–26.

71. See the more modern views expressed in Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 85–89; Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 319–25. For older views, see Bartolomé Bennassar, *Valladolid au siècle d'or: Une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1967), 468–69; Larquié, “Esclaves de Madrid,” *passim*.

72. King, *Law and Society*, 75; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 92; Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, 265–66; Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 36–37.

73. Among his many works, see David Ayalon, *Islam and the Abode of War: Military Slaves and Islamic Adversaries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994); *idem*, *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250–1517)* (London: Variorum, 1977); *idem*, *The Mamluk Military Society* (London: Variorum, 1979). See also Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, 2003); Daniel Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam: the Genesis of a Military System* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981). See also the comments of Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 308–14.

74. David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

75. Juan A. Grima Cervantes, “Notas sobre la esclavitud y la piratería en la tierra de Mojácar (1494–1568),” in *Homenaje al Padre Tapia*, ed. R. Lázaro (Almería: Cajalmería, 1988), 352.

76. Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 107.

77. Cristina de la Puente, “‘Sin linaje, sin alcurnia, sin hogar’: Eunucos en Al-Andalus en época omeya,” *Estudios Onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus* 13 (2003): 154–59; Antonio Arjona Castro, “Los eunucos y la cirugía de la castración en la España musulmana,” *Axerquía* 3 (1981): 277–82; Jan S. Hogendorn, “The Location of the ‘Manufacture’ of Eunuchs,” in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*, ed. Miura Toru and John Edward Phillips (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 41–68; Enrique del Pino, *Esclavos y cautivos en Málaga* (Málaga: Algazara, 2001), 67–68.

78. In Mallorca in 1337, the Greek slave woman Serena, owned by the priest Ferrer Durán, freed (with Durán’s approval) her slave named Miguel. In 1392, also in Mallorca, the slave woman Catalina owned a slave named Antonio, from whom she collected the salary he earned while working for Jaume Ballester. María del Carmen Bosch, “‘Servam et captivam meam.’ Femmes esclaves aux Balears, époque moderne,” in *Captius i esclaus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 180.

CHAPTER 6. TO BECOME FREE

Epigraphs: *Las Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 22, ley 8, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J., trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001),

4: 983; Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Adventures of Don Quixote*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), 352.

1. On fugitives, see the reference to the Roman state's "carefully defined procedures to ensure the swift recovery of runaways," Thomas Wiedemann, ed., *Greek and Roman Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), selection 212 (Digest, 11, 4.1, Ulpian), 190. On the metal collars some Roman slaves had to wear, selections 219–21, p. 194.

2. P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 164–67; Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 1, *Péninsule ibérique—France* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1955), 94–95, 704.

3. *Siete Partidas*, Partida III, título 29, ley 23, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J., trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 3: 847; Partida IV, título 22, ley 7, 4: 983.

4. María del Carmen Bosch, "'Servam et captivam meam.' Femmes esclaves aux Baléares, époque moderne," in *Captius i esclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 199.

5. Josefina Mutgé i Vives, *La ciudad de Barcelona durante el reinado de Alfonso el Benigno (1327–1336)* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1987), 138–39.

6. Manuel Gómez de Valenzuela, "Esclavos moros en Aragón (siglos XI–XVI)," *Argensola* 102 (1989): 126.

7. Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 203–10.

8. Josep Hernando, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona: Blancs, negres, llocs i turcs: De l'esclavitud a la llibertat (s. xiv)* (Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanels, 2003), 670–71.

9. Jaime Sobrequés Callicó, ed., *Catálogo de la cancellería de Enrique IV de Castilla, Señor del Principado de Cataluña, Lugartenencia de Juana de Beaumont, 1462–1464* (Barcelona: Institución Milá y Fontanels, C.S.I.C., 1975), document 836, 163–64.

10. Roser Salicrú i Lluch, *Esclaus i propietaris d'esclaus a la Catalunya del segle XV: l'assurance contra fugues* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1998).

11. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 840–41; *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, ed. Manuel Colmeiro, 5 vols. (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1861–1903), 5: 544, 851. Mateo Antonio Páez García, "Notas en torno a aspectos sociales de la esclavitud en Córdoba a comienzos del siglo XVI," in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Historia Medieval*, 2 vols. (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1994), 2: 211; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 203–10; Miguel Gual Camarena, "Un seguro contra crímenes de esclavos en el siglo XV," *Anuario de Historia de Derecho Española* 23 (1953): 247–58; Salicrú i Lluch, *Esclaus i propietaris d'esclaus*; idem, "Entre le reclament des terres islàmiques i l'escapada septentrional: La institucionalització de la por la les fugues d'esclaus a la Catalunya tardomedieval," in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana*, ed. María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 87–134; Mark D. Meyerson, "Slavery and Solidarity: Mudejars and Foreign Muslim Captives in the Kingdom of Valencia," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 2, 3 (1996): 286–343.

12. Raúl González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga a fines de la Edad Media* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2006), 430–31.
13. Pierre Macaire, “Majorque et le commerce international (1400–1450 environ)” (Thesis, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1986), 130–31.
14. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales en el siglo XVI: Negros, Moros, y Moriscos* (Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982), 250, 280–81.
15. Fernando Bruquetas de Castro, *La esclavitud en Lanzarote, 1618–1640* (Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1995), 98, 114.
16. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 227.
17. Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada and Diputación Provincial, 2000), 402.
18. Albert N'Damba Kabongo, “Les esclaves à Cordoue au début du XVIIe siècle (1600–1621): Provenance et condition sociale” (Thesis, Université de Toulouse-Le Miral, 1975), annex 6, unpaginated.
19. Manuel López Molina, “Cartas de horro y libertad de esclavos en Martos: 1610–1630,” in *Comunicaciones presentadas al XI Congreso de Profesores-Investigadores* (Granada: Asociación de Profesores de Geografía e Historia de Bachillerato de Andalucía “Hespérides,” 1994): 146.
20. For branding and other marks, and for comments urging caution in their interpretation, see Chapter 3. See also Manuel López Molina, *Una década de esclavitud en Jaén, 1675–1685* (Jaén: Ayuntamiento, 1995), 86.
21. A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 134–38.
22. M. Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390–1481)* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995), 219–220.
23. Julio Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud en la baja Andalucía*, 2 vols., vol. 1, *Su proyección atlántico-africana* (Huelva, Palos y Moguer, siglos XV–XVIII), vol. 2, *El difícil camino hacia la libertad* (Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 2004), 57.
24. Julio Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos en la España romana* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1971), 237–39; José María Blázquez and Ángel Montenegro, “Economía y sociedad en la Hispania republicana,” in *Historia de España*, vol. 2, *Hispania romana*, ed. Marcos Sanz Aguero (Madrid: Círculo de Amigos de la Historia, 1978), 251.
25. For emancipation, see Wiedemann, ed., *Greek and Roman Slavery*, selections 29–45, pages 50–56, selection 69, pages 70–72, selections 203–4, page 184; William L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 5, 18, 27, 71, 75, 95; Ramsey MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974), 104–5; Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, Sociological Studies on Roman History, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 115–31.
26. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, 118; Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 341; Keith R.

Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 111–12.

27. W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery: The Conditions of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 598–603. Because of the book's continuing importance, it has been reissued (Union, N.J.: Lawbook Exchange, 2000).

28. The most famous limitations of manumissions were those of the emperor Augustus in 2 B.C.E. Wiedemann, ed., *Greek and Roman Slavery*, selection 6, pp. 29–30; selection 71, pp. 72–73. The writer Pliny provided a farm and later a manager for it to his former nurse, selection 136, pp. 129–30.

29. Dietrich Claude, “Freedmen in the Visigothic Kingdom,” in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 164; Alfons Dopsch, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (New York: Fertig, 1969), 233; Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 95; King, *Law and Society*, 179–81; E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 51.

30. Claude, “Freedmen,” 164.

31. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, 53, 111; Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's, 1995), 109–32. On King Egica's harsh decree of 694, by which all unconverted Jews were to be enslaved, see Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 135–37; Bernard S. Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Wolfram Drews, “Jews as Pagans? Polemical Definitions of Identity in Visigothic Spain,” *Early Medieval Europe* 2, 3 (2002):190–92. Whether Egica's law was put into practice is still subject to investigation.

32. Sura 24:33, *Al-Qur'ān: A Contemporary Translation*, trans. Ahmed Ali (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 301.

33. Sura 2:177, sura 4:92, sura 5:89, sura 90:13, 32, 86, 109, 537.

34. Jonathan E. Brockopp, *Early Mālikī Law: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and his Major Compendium of Jurisprudence* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 177–83. A woman slave could be either an *umm walad* or a *mukātab* (a slave with a contract to buy freedom on the installment plan), 199. See also Yasin Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law: The Qur'ān, the Muwaṭṭa' and Medinan 'Amal* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999); Shaun E. Marmon, “Domestic Slavery in the Mamluk Empire,” in *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, ed. Shaun E. Marmon (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1999), 7–8; Milouda Charouiti Hasnaoui, “Esclavos y cautivos según la ley islámica: Condiciones y consecuencias,” in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana*, ed. María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 11–15; Cristina de la Puente, “Slaves and Slave Trade: Western Islamic World,” in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef W. Meri (New York: Routledge, 2006): 759.

35. Sura 9:60, *Al-Qur'ān*, 168.

36. Brockopp, *Early Mālikī Law*, 156, 192–93n137, 196; Dutton, *Origins of Islamic Law*, 68–69, 91; Christina de la Puente, “Slaves in Al-Andalus Through Wathā'iq Works (4th–6th Centuries H/ 10th–12th Centuries C.E.): Marriage and Slavery as Factors of Social

Categorisation,” *Annales Islamologiques* 42 (2008): 192–95; Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 80; Hasanaoui, “Esclavos y cautivos,” 10.

37. Marmon, “Domestic Slavery in the Mamluk Empire,” 14–17; S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 197 n. 3.

38. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título XXII, ley 1, in Burns, ed., 4: 981.

39. *Ibid.*, partida IV, título XXII, ley 8, in Burns, ed., 4: 983.

40. *Ibid.*, partida IV, título XXII, ley 1, in Burns, ed., 4: 981. That law contained special provisions for masters under the age of twenty who freed slaves.

41. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 435; Robert I. Burns, S.J., “La manumisión de un musulmán: Un documento doble de Valencia en el 1300,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 5 (1988): 141–45.

42. Carlos Asenjo Sedano, *Sociedad y esclavitud en el Reino de Granada, siglo XVI: Las tierras de Guadix y Baza* (Granada: Ilustre Colegio Notarial de Granada, 1997), 66.

43. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 22, ley 4, in Burns, ed., 4: 982.

44. *Ibid.*, partida VII, título 8, ley 13, in Burns, ed., 5: 1349.

45. *Ibid.*, partida IV, título 22, ley 3, in Burns, ed., 4: 982.

46. *Ibid.*, partida IV, título 22, ley 6, in Burns, ed., 4: 983.

47. J. N. Hillgarth, “A Greek Slave in Majorca in 1419–26: New Documents,” *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988): 546–58.

48. Manuela Marrero Rodríguez, *La esclavitud en Tenerife a raíz de la conquista* (La Laguna de Tenerife: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1966), 17–18, 23–24, 26–27; Lobo, *Esclavitud . . . Canarias*, 259; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 248–49.

49. Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, 21 January 1491, folio 74.

50. Lobo, *Esclavitud . . . Canarias*, 259–60.

51. The *Siete Partidas* were Castilian and, as such, not operative in the Crown of Aragon.

52. Cortés Alonso, *Esclavitud en Valencia*, 121–22. Debra Blumenthal made extensive use of these records in *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009).

53. Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 138–48.

54. Luis Cortés López, “Los esclavos y la Inquisición (siglo XVI),” *Studia Histórica, Historia Moderna* 20 (1999), 217–40.

55. There are several examples of this in early sixteenth-century Jaén. Luis Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén en los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *España y el Norte de África: Bases históricas de una relación fundamental*, ed. Manuel Olmedo Jiménez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1984): 405.

56. Lobo, *Esclavitud en las Canarias*, 258. The response of the crown is not recorded in this case.

57. Bosch, “‘Servam et captivam meam,’” 198.

58. Alessandro Stella and Bernard Vincent, “L’esclavage en Espagne à l’époque moderne: Acquis et nouvelles orientations,” in *Captius i esclaus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 299.

59. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 21, ley 8, in Burns, ed., 4:979–80. The loss of converted slaves applied only to slaves held for service to a master, not to trade slaves he might temporarily control. If a trade slave became a Christian, the master had three months to sell him; afterward, he would see the slave confiscated. Similar regulations operated in the Crown of Aragon. See Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 300.

60. Cortés, *Esclavitud en Valencia*, 136–37.

61. Dated 1584. Quoted in Julio Izquierdo Labrado, “La esclavitud en Huelva y Palos a fines del siglo XVI,” *Huelva y su Historia* 6 (1997): 65–66.

62. Will of Pere Calafat, trans. Larry Simon from *Diplomatari del Monestir de Santa Maria de la Real de Mallorca*, vol. 1, 1232–1360, 312, in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 248.

63. Hernando, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona*, 148–49. Continued service following manumission was common in Barcelona at that period, 234–36.

64. Juan Aranda Doncel, “La esclavitud en Córdoba durante los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *Córdoba: Apuntes para su historia*, ed. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 149–70 (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba), 1981, 170.

65. Bruquetas de Castro, *Esclavitud en Lanzarote*, 16.

66. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *Los libertos en la sociedad canaria del siglo XVI* (Madrid and Tenerife: C.S.I.C. and Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1983), 38–40; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 246–47; Lobo, *Esclavitud . . . Canarias*, 257–77; Aranda Doncel found especially high prices demanded of Morisco slaves in Córdoba and Lucena; their families could be expected to help in paying the fees. Aranda Doncel, “La esclavitud en Córdoba durante los siglos XVI y XVII,” 169; idem, “La esclavitud en Lucena durante el último tercio del siglo XVI,” in *Apuntes para su historia: 1 Jornadas de historia de Lucena*, ed. José Calvo Portayo (Lucena: Ayuntamiento, 1981), 50.

67. Hernando, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona*, 145, 149, 202–31; Iván Armenteros Martínez, “‘Si tu non delinquiris’: Conflictividad en torno al la esclavitud en la Barcelona tardomedieval,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 8, 2 (2008): 996. For the restrictions on movements, see María Dolores López Pérez, “Marchands, esclaves et mercenaires: Les transferts de populations dans le Maghreb medieval,” in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (Xe–XVIIe siècles)*, ed. Michel Balarand and Alain Ducellier (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), 412.

68. Onofre Vaquer Bennàssar, *L'esclavitud a Mallorca, 1448–1500* (Palma de Mallorca: Institut d'Estudis Balearics, Govern Balear, Consell Insular de Mallorca, 1997), 79.

69. On the island of Lanzarote in the seventeenth century, such installment agreements required the slave to have a free person act as guarantor for the loan. Bruquetas de Castro, *Esclavitud en Lanzarote*, 17.

70. Marrero, *Esclavitud en Tenerife*, 95

71. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 444–45.

72. Aranda Doncel, “Esclavitud en Córdoba,” 170.

73. Françoise Orsini-Avila, *Les esclaves de Lucena (1539–1700)* (Paris: Sorbonne, Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1998), 104.

74. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 403.
75. Cortés, *Esclavitud en Valencia*, 139. Aranda Doncel, “Esclavitud en Córdoba,” 169–70.
76. José Hinojosa Montalvo, *Esclavos, nobles, y corsarios en el Alicante medieval* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000), 111; Leopoldo Piles Ros, “Un factor económico específico: La liberación de esclavos a comienzos del XV en Valencia,” in *Actas del IV Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo* (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, Diputación Provincial de Teruel, 1992): 284–87.
77. Mark D. Meyerson, “Slavery and the Social Order: Mudejars and Christians in the Kingdom of Valencia,” *Medieval Encounters* 1, 1 (1995): 169–71.
78. Páez García, “Esclavitud en Córdoba,” 206.
79. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 244.
80. Josefina Mutgé i Vives, “Les ordinations del municipi de Barcelona sobre els esclaus,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l’edat mitjana*, ed. María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 259.
81. Lobo, *Esclavitud . . . Canarias*, 259. Similar complaints appeared elsewhere.
82. Marrero, *Esclavitud en Tenerife*, 95–96; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 253–54.
83. Bosch, ““Servam et captivam meam,”” 182.
84. Asenjo Sedano, *Sociedad y esclavitud en . . . Granada*, 123.
85. Lobo, *Esclavitud . . . Canarias*, 264–65.
86. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 22, ley 5, in Burns, ed., 4:982.
87. Izquierdo Labrado, “La esclavitud en Huelva y Palos,” 72.
88. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 358.
89. Bruquetas de Castro, *Esclavitud en Lanzarote*, 16, 93.
90. Pedro Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Cádiz durante el siglo XVIII* (Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 2001), 126.
91. Marrero, *Esclavitud en Tenerife*, 80–81, 84, 88, 96, 104; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands After the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 39–40.
92. Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars*, 196.
93. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 438–39; 449–50; Orsini-Avila, *Esclaves de Lucena*, 103.
94. Vaquer Bennàssar, *L’esclavitud a Mallorca*, 79.
95. Marrero, *Esclavitud en Tenerife*, 93.
96. *Ibid.*, 29, 34–35.
97. Páez García, “Esclavitud en Córdoba,” 211.
98. Ruth Pike, “Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47 (1967): 344–59.
99. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 227, 243.
100. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 437. Granada’s documents include forced liberations and those done by the Morisco community in the aftermath of the rebellion that saw many of the defeated enslaved and later freed by members of the community.

Without those counted, Martín Casares assumed that manumissions would equal only 6 percent of sales.

101. N'Damba Kabongo, *Les esclaves à Cordoue*, 228, 273.
102. López Molina, *Esclavitud en Jaén*, 193; idem, "Cartas de horro," 151
103. Orsini-Avila, *Esclaves de Lucena*, 100–101.
104. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 446; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*,
249. López Molina found similar statistics for the town of Martos. "Cartas de horro," 154.
105. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 447.
106. Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla*, 250.
107. N'Damba, "Esclaves à Cordoue," 220.
108. For such cases in Valencia, see Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars*, 211–16. The slaves often secured the assistance of a special Valencian official, the Procurador dels Misrables, a sort of ombudsman for the poor.
109. Cortés, *Esclavitud en Valencia*, 121–22. The documents state that Inés was later sent to Castile, but whether as free or slave, we don't know.
110. Fernando Cortés Cortés, "Aproximación a la condición esclava en el Badajoz del siglo XVII," *Norba: Revista de Historia* 5 (1985):155–62.
111. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 22, ley 2, Burns, ed., 4: 981.
112. Debra Blumenthal, "'La Casa dels Negres': Black African Solidarity in Late Medieval Valencia," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 225–46.
113. J. P. V. D. Baisdon, *Romans and Aliens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 87–88.
114. Mangas Manjarrés, *Esclavos y libertos*, 43–49. On the continuing obligations of freedmen to their former masters, see Wiedemann, ed., *Greek and Roman Slavery*, selections 29–37, 40–54, pp. 50–56.
115. José Orlandis, *Historia social y económica de la España visigoda* (Madrid: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros, 1975), 100–101.
116. François Soyer, "Muslim Freedmen in León, Castile and Portugal (1100–1300)," *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 18, 2 (2006): 143.
117. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 22, ley 8, Burns, ed., 4: 983–84.
118. *Siete Partidas*, partida IV, título 22, ley 9, Burns, ed., 4: 984.
119. Michael A. Ryan, "Slavery and Identity in Mozarabic Toledo, 1201–1320," *Medievalia* 12 (1995): 13–32, especially 27.
120. Ibid., 26–29; Carme Batlle i Gallart, "Els esclaus domestics a Barcelona vers 1300," in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat: Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana*, ed. María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 2000), 294–96.
121. López Molina, "Cartas de horro," 151–52.
122. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 452.
123. Orsini-Avila, *Esclaves de Lucena*, 103.
124. These two cases are reported in Antonio Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos en la Murcia del setecientos* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1992), 159–60.

125. Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén,” 403.
126. Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 141–43.
127. Libertos (freed slaves) were free citizens and could make wills. Martín Casares, *Esclavitud en Granada*, 453–54. She found only three such wills in her Granadan documents.
128. Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén,” 403.
129. See Chapter 4.
130. Pere de Montaner Alonso, “Amos y esclavos en la Mallorca moderna,” in *Captius i esclaus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal (Naples: Jovene Editore, 1996), 285–86.
131. Baltasar Fra-Molinero, “Juan Latino and His Racial Difference,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Earle and Lowe, 326–44, quotation on 333. Fra-Molinero notes that Henry Louis Gates mentioned Juan Latino in a discussion of cultural relativity in *The Signifying Monkey*.
132. Aurelia Martín Casares, “Free and Freed Black Africans in Granada in the Time of the Spanish Renaissance,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Earle and Lowe, 259.
133. Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos*, 165–71.
134. Martín Casares, “Free and Freed Black Africans in Granada,” 252.
135. Coronas Tejeda, “Esclavitud africana en Jaén,” 403–4. A free black woman in Italy in 1470 found herself similarly mistaken for a slave. Kate Lowe, “Introduction: The Black African Presence in Renaissance Europe,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, 20–21.
136. Orsini-Avila, *Lucena*, 99, citing María del Carmen Calero Palacios, “Marginación social en Andalucía: Los niños del la doctrina, huérfanos y desamparados de la ciudad de Granada,” *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1995), 75–82. In eighteenth-century Majorca, unconverted slaves who died could not be buried in Christian places, but only in separate areas, as with any unbaptized person. Bosch, “‘Servam et captivam meam,’” 193.
137. Alessandro Stella, “‘Mezclándose carnalmente’: Relaciones sociales, relaciones sexuales y mestizaje en Andalucía Occidental,” in *Negros, mulatos, Zambaigos: Derroteros africanos en los mundos ibéricos*, ed. Berta Ares Queija and Alessandro Stella, 175–88 (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2000), 175–88.

EPILOGUE: THE WIDER EXTENSIONS OF IBERIAN SLAVERY

1. The best example of this line of argument is that of Jacques Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques au Moyen Age dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris: Fayard, 1981, 1996). The later edition was unchanged.
2. Iris Origo, “The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century,” *Speculum* 30 (1955): 321–66.
3. A recent author in the same tradition as Origo is Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada and Diputación Provincial, 2000).

4. Ivana Elbl, "The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450–1521," *Journal of African History* 38, 1 (1997): 31–75.

5. David Eltis and David Richardson, "A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Database*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008), 1–60.

6. The places to begin are Herbert S. Klein and Ben Vinson, III, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), and Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For the slave trade, see Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Johannes Postma, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003); Marisa Vega Franco and Enriqueta Vila Villar, *El tráfico de esclavos con América: Asientos de Grillo y Lomelín, 1663–1674* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1984); Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1977); Linda A. Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Eltis and Richardson, *Extending the Frontiers*. One important book appeared too recently to be incorporated into this one, Josep M. Fradera and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, eds., *Slavery and Antislavery in Spain's Atlantic Empire* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Berghahn, 2013).

7. Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); James H. Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser. 54, 1 (1997): 141–66; Fredrick Richard Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

8. There were, of course, other sorts of converted people, but the most prominent in this period were *conversos* and *Moriscos*.

9. See the classic work by Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *La política indigenista de Isabel la Católica* (Valladolid: Instituto Isabel la Católica de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969).

10. Las Casas's suggestion that slaves replace Amerindians in colonial fields, mines, and workshops gave the weight of his prestige to the beginnings of the organized slave trade, and his reputation, quite properly, has suffered for it. Although later in his life he repented of his earlier views and recognized that the arguments he put forth for the improved treatment of the indigenous people could apply equally to the blacks, his views remained unpublished until the nineteenth century. See note 16, below.

11. Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *Slavery and the Muslim Diaspora* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 2001).

12. Vila Villar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*.

13. On this point, Stuart B. Schwartz, "Indian Labor and New World Plantations: European Demands and Indian Responses in Northeastern Brazil," *American Historical Review* 83, 1 (1978): 43–79, surveyed the evidence and concluded: "There was . . . a remarkable

similarity among all the colonial regimes in the New World in the low value placed on Indian laborers in comparison with Africans . . . the similarity of opinion among all the New World slaveholding regimes suggests that there was a comparative advantage, especially in the formative period of slaveholding, in the use of African rather than Indian slaves and that this advantage was based on productivity in terms of return on investment” (76–77). See also the discussion by Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974), 110–24.

14. Philip D. Curtin, “Slavery and Empire,” in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies*, ed. Vera D. Rubin and Arthur Tuden (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977), 9–10.

15. Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London: Verso, 1997), 3. Blackburn went on to say “that the type of slavery which came to dominate the New World was not already seen in medieval and early modern Europe, but that certainly *some* of its causes are to be found there,” 84n1.

16. For the changed attitudes of Las Casas toward black slavery, see Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3 vols., ed. Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951), 3:177, 274. See also, Ignacio Pérez Fernández, *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, O.P.: De defensor de los indios a defensor de los negros* (Salamanca: San Esteban, 1995).

17. The story of voices raised in opposition to slavery, the slave trade, and slave owners, as well as abolitionists and abolitionism in the Spanish and Portuguese worlds, is not as well known as it should be. Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570–1650* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 167–72; Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 124–27; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, “Iberian Expansion and the Issue of Black Slavery: Changing Portuguese Attitudes, 1440–1770,” *American Historical Review* 83, 1 (1993): 16–42, especially on these points, 35–36.

18. See the recent abridged edition, Alonso de Sandoval, S.J., *Treatise on Slavery: Selections from De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, ed. and trans. Nicole van Germeten (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2008).

19. José Tomás López García, *Dos defensores de los esclavos negros en el siglo XVII: Francisco José de Jaca y Epifanio de Moirans* (Maracaibo: Biblioteca Corpozulia, 1982); Miguel Anxo Peña González, *Francisco José de Jaca: La primera propuesta abolicionista de la esclavitud en el pensamiento hispano* (Salamanca: Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia, 2003); Francisco José de Jaca, *Resolución sobre la libertad de los negros y sus originarios, en estado de paganos y después ya cristianos*, ed. Miguel Anxo Peña González (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 2002). Epifanio de Moirans, *A just Defense of the Natural Freedom of Slaves: All Slaves Should Be Free (Servi liberi seu naturalium mancipiorum libertatis iusta defensio)*, trans. Edward R. Sunshine (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 2007).

20. Russell-Wood, “Iberian Expansion,” 37–38.

21. Julia Morena García, “España y los orígenes de la abolición de la esclavitud (finales del siglo XVIII, comienzos de XIX),” *Revista de Indias* 46, 117 (1986): 199–226; C. Navarro Azcue, *La abolición de la esclavitud negra en la legislación española, 1870–1886* (Madrid:

Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1987); Emiliano Gil-Blanco, "La politique espagnole en matière d'abolition de l'esclavage au XIXe siècle," in *Les abolitions de l'esclavage: De L. F. Sonthoux à V. Schoelcher, 1793, 1794, 1848*, ed. Marcel Dorigny (Paris: UNESCO, 1995), 329–33.

22. See, among others, Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833–1874* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999); and Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

23. Klein and Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil*, 310.

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INDEX

‘Abd al-Rahmān III, 51, 56, 57, 116

Abū al-Hasan ‘Alī, 87

African slaves: fugitive slaves, 124, 125–26; *gacis* in Muslim Granada, 120; manumitted, 27, 136, 143, 144–45; owners’ categorization by skin color, ethnicity, and origin, 72–75, 76, 150; Portuguese slave trade, 22, 62–66, 69, 152–53; racial slavery in Americas, 150–51; religious brotherhoods/confraternities, 94–97. *See also* African slaves (North Africa); African slaves (sub-Saharan)

African slaves (North Africa), 37; Berber slaves in Muslim Iberia, 18, 56, 72; and Charles III’s diplomatic ties with North African states, 26–27; military defense of Almería, 111; Muslim Iberian slave trade, 57–58; owners’ categorization by skin color, 74–75, 76; tattoos, 75

African slaves (sub-Saharan): animism, 194n68; dances, 96–97; health, 97; manumission, 143; Muslim Iberia’s slave trade, 18, 57–58; non-Muslim slave labor in Americas, 150–53, 214n10, 214–15n13; owners’ categorization by skin color, 73–74, 150; Portuguese slave trade, 22, 63–66; religion/conversion, 93–97; scars (cicatrices), 75–76

agricultural work, 5, 111–15; Christian Spain, 112–13; Muslim Iberia, 112; Roman Hispania, 111; sugar industry, 22, 109, 114–15, 153; Visigoths’ rural slaves, 111

ahorramiento, 130

Albillos, Bartolomé, 142

Albornoz, Bartolomé de, 157

Alcaraz, Leonor de, 130

Alcoi, 85

Alexander III, Pope, 59

alfaques, 50

Alfons II, 33

Alfonso V, 41–42

Alfonso VI, 32

Alfonso VIII, 49

Alfonso X, 21

Alicante, 43, 72, 74, 85, 136

Almadén, 31–32

Almería, 12, 13, 38–39, 42, 111

Americas, slavery in, 7, 22–23, 149–61; anti-slavery sentiment, 156–59; armed slaves in urban militias and guard units, 156; changes in institution of slavery, 22, 153–54, 160–61, 215n15; demise of slavery, 156–61; free black population, 155; fugitive slave communities, 125; labor needs, 150–53; labor of non-Muslim sub-Saharan Africans, 150–53, 214n10, 214–15n13; large-scale gang slavery and plantation agriculture, 23, 155–56; model for, 149; and Old World slavery traditions, 22, 153–54, 160–61, 215n15; Portuguese Brazil, 23, 149, 154–55, 158, 160; Portuguese slave trade, 22, 152–53; racial slavery, 150–51; reasons for not using African Muslim slaves, 152; reasons for not using Amerindian labor, 151, 152, 214–15n13; reasons for not using European labor, 151–52; and scholarly reinterpretations of domestic slavery, 5; slave societies, 22–23, 154; small-scale slavery, 23, 155

Amerindians, 151, 214–15n13; death rates, 151, 152; in Seville, 73

al-Andalus. *See* Muslim Iberia (al-Andalus)

Andalusia: domestic slavery, 105; fugitive slaves, 126; internal slave market, 68; numbers of slaves, 24; slaves’ religions, 93

Andreoni, Giovanni Antonio, 158

Ángeles, María de los, 144

Angulo, Beatriz de, 139

anti-slavery sentiment in Latin America, 156–59

- Arabian Peninsula, tradition of slavery on, 16–17, 32, 80, 168n16
- Aranda Doncel, Juan, 199n10, 210n66
- Argüelles, Agustín de, 159
- Arian Christianity, 16, 55, 123. *See also* Visigothic kingdom
- arráeces*, 31
- Arrais, Amador, 157
- artisanry, 5, 106–9, 147; Christian Spain, 107–9; domestic slaves, 104, 105; Roman Hispania (commerce and manufacturing), 106, 147; salt production, 106–7; skilled craft guilds, 107, 108
- Atarés, don Pedro de, 117–18
- Avila, reconquest of, 33
- Ayamonte, 72, 81
- Azurara, 63
- Badr (slave of al-Rahman III), 116
- Baldera, María la, 87
- Balearic Islands: manumission by public and church authorities, 131; numbers of slaves, 24; reconquest and enslavement of Muslims, 33–34. *See also* Mallorca; Minorca
- baptism, 93, 133–34; and concubinage, 89; and manumission, 133–34; and slave marriage patterns, 91
- Baqī ibn Makhhlad, 45
- Barbary pirates, 174n21
- Barberà, Guillem de, 124
- Barcelona: agricultural work, 112; artisanal workers, 107, 108; children born to slave mothers, 28–29; curfew, 99–100; domestic slavery, 105; fugitive slave laws, 123–24; internal slave market, 66; manumissions, 135, 137; men/women slaves, 85; numbers of slaves, 24; reenslavement, 142; religious brotherhoods of African Christians, 94; slaves' names, 190n6; white slaves, 74
- Bargas, Juan de, 140
- Barrios Leme, Rodrigo de, 135
- Basque provinces, 24
- Batlle, Juan, 50
- becoming a slave, 28–53; capture and enslavement of people born free, 32–53; children born to slave mothers, 28–29, 87–89, 147–48; children sold/abandoned into slavery, 29, 38–39; *descaminants*, 173n4; penal slavery, 29–32; self-sale into debt slavery, 29. *See also* capture and enslavement of freeborn people
- Belta, Hanz, 97
- Benci, Jorge, 158
- Benedict XIII, Pope (Pedro Martínez de Luna), 81
- Benítez, Maximiliano and Antonio, 144
- “Berberiscos,” 74, 143
- Bernal, Diego, 109
- Black Death, 21, 35, 60, 170n31
- Blackburn, Robin, 154, 215n15
- Blumenthal, Debra, 4, 103; *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia*, 4
- Bonassie, Pierre, 107
- Borrassà, Lluís, 107
- Bos, Francisca, 50
- Braudel, Fernand, 10
- Brazil: abolitionists, 158; end of slavery, 160; gang slavery, 23, 155; Portuguese slavery, 23, 149, 154–55, 158, 160
- British colonies: abolishment of slavery, 158; slave trade, 152, 158
- Brodman, James, 2
- Byzantine Empire, slavery in, 11
- cabalgadas*, 62–63, 115
- Cádiz: constitutional convention and question of slavery, 159; decline of slavery, 26, 159; influx of new slaves/slave population, 43; internal slave market, 71, 72; manumissions, 137–38; noble slaveowners, 118; religious brotherhoods of African Christians, 95–96; slave trade, 61
- Calafat, Pere, 134–35
- Canary Islands, 36–37, 151; artisanal workers, 108–9; Christian slave trade and enslaved indigenous people, 36, 61–63, 67–68, 73; concubinage/prostitution, 89; conquest and captives, 36–37, 61–62, 131–32; groups of fugitive slaves, 125; historians of, 2; Inquisition in, 132; manumissions, 131–32, 135, 137–38; men/women slaves, 71–72, 85; Muslim coastal raids, 43–44; numbers of slaves, 24; religious brotherhoods of African Christians, 96; sugar-cane agriculture, 22, 109, 115, 153
- Cape Verde islands, 63
- capture and enslavement of freeborn people, 32–53; “baños” (North African prisons), 47–48; capture in warfare, 32–37, 147; Christian captives in Muslim Granada, 12–13, 34, 41, 44, 49, 179n81; Christian

- captives of other Christians, 41–42; Christian captives taken to North Africa, 45, 47–49; Christian captives who converted to Islam, 40, 48; Christian raids on North Africa, 35, 43–44, 52–53; coastal and sea raids, 12–13, 21, 26, 34, 35, 41–44, 52–53; differences between captives and slaves, 39–40; land raids, 34, 41; life stories, 44–49; miraculous intervention stories, 45–47; Morisco revolt and Christian enslavement of Moriscos, 37–39; Muslims captured in raids, 21, 32, 34–37, 41–43, 147; mutual prisoner exchanges and repatriation treaties, 49–50, 179n81; raids across religious lines, 21, 34–37; ransoming procedures, 49–52; reconquest (and enslavement of Muslims), 32–37; Roman Hispania, 32; sold at auction, 45; Visigothic kingdom, 32, 55; wars between Muslim Granada and Christian states, 12–13, 17–19, 34, 41–52, 179n81; women, 44
- Caribbean Islands, 73, 114, 154, 155
- Carlos III, 26–27, 52, 159
- Carranza, María de, 101
- Carrillo del Castillo, Diego, 100
- Cartagena: early modern construction and public works, 118; influx of new slaves/slave population, 43; lives of freed slaves, 142–43; work of slaves, 112, 118
- Cartagena de Indias, 157, 158
- Carthaginians, 15
- Castile: coastal raids during war with Aragon, 41–42; fugitive slave laws and extradition treaties with Portugal, 126; historians of, 2; manumission, 129–31; Muslim slaves from reconquest raids, 21; ransoming arrangements for Christian captives, 50, 51–52; slave trade, 61, 62–63, 69; tax on slave sales, 69. *See also* Seville; *La Siete Partidas* (thirteenth-century Castilian law code)
- castration, 38, 120–21, 130–31. *See also* eunuchs
- Castro, Alvaro de, 139
- Catalonia: coastal raids, 44; concubinage/prostitution, 89; decline of slavery, 26; numbers of slaves, 24; sale records (women/men), 85; salt production, 106–7; slave trade, 61
- Cataño, Batista, 88
- Catholic Church and abolition of the slave trade, 159
- Celada, Luis de, 70
- Cervantes, Miguel de, 13, 122; *Los baños de Argel*, 48; captivity in Algiers, 13, 48–49; *Don Quixote*, 13, 39, 48; *El trato de Argel*, 48
- children: *bords de la casa*, *bords de la terra*, and *bords de cullita*, 88; born to slave mothers, 6, 28–29, 87–89, 129, 147–48; of enslaved Moriscos, 38–39; manumission of, 137, 138–39; sales, 70; sold/abandoned into slavery, 29, 38–39
- Chindasuinth, King, 98
- Christian Spain, early modern, 21–25; baptismal records, 89; Black Death, 21, 35, 60; children born to slave mothers, 28, 89; concubinage, 87–90; domestic servants, 106; eighteenth-century decline of slavery, 25–27, 52–53; historians of, 2; Morisco expulsion, 24–25, 39, 93, 110; numbers of slaves, 10–11, 23, 24; owners of slaves, 23–24, 106; penal slavery, 30–32; religion and slaves' lives, 92–97; seventeenth century, 25, 139; slave marriages, 90–91; slave trade, 21–22, 58–66. *See also* Americas, slavery in; Inquisition
- Christian Spain, medieval, 19–21; capture and enslavement of freeborn people, 32–37; children born to slave mothers, 28, 87–89; communities of religious minorities (Jews and Muslims), 20–21; concubinage, 19, 20, 87–90, 193n44; domestic servants, 19, 104, 105; eastern Iberia, 19–20; fugitive Muslim slaves, 123–26; historians of, 2; independent agents (apprentices), 109; legal conditions of slavery, 82–84; manumission, 129–35, 141–45; Mediterranean maritime regions, 20; numbers of slaves, 10–11; penal slavery, 30; Reconquest, 19, 32–36; religion and slaves' lives, 92–97; self-sale into debt slavery, 29; slave marriages, 90–91, 194n58; slave trade, 58–66; slaves' names, 81, 190n6; wars with Muslim Granada, 12–13, 17–19, 34, 41–52, 179n81
- church slaves, 92, 117
- clothing and dress of slaves, 81–82, 148
- Columella, 201n35
- complexity of Iberian slavery, 4–6, 9, 14, 146; gradations between full slavery and full freedom, 5–6; new interpretations of involuntary labor/domestic slavery, 5, 146–47
- Concepción, María de la, 145

- concubinage, 5–6, 8, 20, 85–90, 147–48;
 Christian Spain, 19, 20, 87–90, 193n44;
 forced sex and prostitution, 86, 89, 192n35;
 and homosexuality, 90; Muslim Spain,
 6, 86–87; pregnancy and childbearing,
 6, 87–89, 147–48; Roman Spain, 86; wet
 nurses, 89–90, 106
- Congregation of the Santo Cristo de Burgos,
 51–52
- conversions: Christian captives to Islam, 40,
 48; and the Inquisition, 25; and manumission,
 133–34; Muslim slaves' to Christianity,
 25, 81, 92–93, 133–34; sub-Saharan
 Africans, 93–97
- conversos*, 150, 214n8
- Córdoba: fugitive slaves, 126; internal slave
 market, 71; manumissions, 135, 136, 138,
 139, 140, 210n66; men/women slaves,
 85; Muslim, 51, 56, 57, 116; purchasers of
 domestic slaves, 105; religious confraternity
 coordinating ransoming, 50; slave mar-
 riages (baptismal records), 91
- Córdoba, Andrés de, 135
- Cordoncillo, Catalina de, 137
- Corella, Francisco, 89
- cortados*, 109–10
- Corté Alonso, Vicenta, 2
- Cortes of Toledo (1559), 38
- Corvera, Marquis of, 71
- Council of Trent, 90–91
- crime and punishment, 98–102; Christian
 kingdoms, 99–100; curfews, 99–100;
 Inquisition, 13, 25, 100–101, 125–26,
 132–33; laws limiting assembly and
 prohibiting slaves from carrying arms,
 100; masters' authority over slaves, 98–99,
 147–48; Roman Hispania, 98; Seville's
 regulations, 100; *Siete Partidas* (Castilian
 law code), 21, 22, 98–99, 100, 129–30; slave
 revolts, 101; slaves' murder of masters,
 101–2; Visigoths, 98
- Crof, Juan Bautista, 138
- Crown of Aragon, 20; coastal raids during
 war with Castile, 41–42; domestic slavery,
 105; fugitive slaves, 124; institutionally-
 owned slaves, 117–18; internal slave
 markets, 66–68; legal codes, 35–36, 83–84;
 manumission, 135, 132; Mudejar commu-
 nity, 20–21, 30; penal slavery, 30; self-sale
 into debt slavery, 29; slave ownership by
 non-Christians, 59; slave trade, 59–61
- Cuba, 156, 159–60, 161
- Curtin, Philip D., 154
- Danatolia, Hassan, 90
- debt slavery, 29
- demise of slavery: Brazil, 158, 160; chang-
 ing attitudes and anti-slavery senti-
 ment, 156–59; economic shifts, 25–26;
 eighteenth-century Iberia, 25–27, 52–53;
 Latin America, 156–61; regularization of
 diplomatic ties with North African states,
 26–27; seventeenth century Iberia, 25, 139
- descaminants*, 173n4
- Días, Gonzalo, 70
- Dinis, King, 35
- Diodorus Siculus, 116
- Dios, Miguel de, 126
- domestic slavery, 5, 23, 103–6, 146–47; arti-
 sanal work, 104, 105; duties outside house-
 hold, 104; eighteenth century, 27; Origo's
 concept of the "domestic enemy," 146–47;
 purchasers/owners, 105, 106, 199n10;
 Roman Hispania, 104; scholarly interpreta-
 tions, 2, 5, 146–47; women and, 103–6
- Domingo of Silos (Santo Domingo), 45–47
- Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, 1–2
- Dominicans, Spanish, 157
- Domitian, 120
- donations of slaves, 70–71
- Durán, Ferrer, 205n78
- early modern Spain. *See* Christian Spain,
 early modern
- Egica, King, 123
- Elbl, Ivana, 65–66
- Enrique, Francisco, 66
- Enrique IV, 37, 41, 51
- Enríquez, Duarte, 132
- Erwig, King, 98, 119
- eunuchs: castration and automatic manu-
 mission, 130–31; and Morisco owners, 38;
 Muslim al-Andalus, 56, 117, 121; Roman
 Empire/Roman Spain, 120–21; *ṣaḡālība*,
 56, 117
- Extremadura, 26, 69
- families, slaves', 90–91
- farda de la mar*, 42
- Felipe II, 25, 38, 63, 97, 115, 119, 157
- Felipe V, 44
- Fernández, Alejo, 108

- Fernández, Isabel, 137
 Fernández Cevadero, Alonso, 109
 Fernando and Isabel (Catholic monarchs):
 defining who could be enslaved, 151; grant-
 ing manumission, 131; making gifts of cap-
 tives, 70; and Moriscos, 37; reconquest and
 enslavement of Muslim captives, 36, 42
 Finley, Moses I., 10
forzados, 30–32
 France, slavery in, 11, 158
 Franco Silva, Alfonso, 2, 4, 73, 139
 Franks, Catholic, 55, 56
 Frederickson, Fredrick, 150
 Free Womb Law, 160
 freedom, 122–45, 148; flight, 5, 122–26, 148;
 life as a freed slave, 141–45; manumission,
 4, 5, 9, 126–45, 148–49. *See also* fugitive
 slaves; manumission
 Friedman, Ellen, 2
 fugitive slaves, 5, 122–26, 148; accounts of
 unsuccessful flights, 125–26; of African
 origin, 124, 125–26; Christian slaves
 fleeing Muslim owners, 126; extradition
 treaties, 126; groups of runaway slaves,
 125; late medieval Christian Spain, 123–26;
 laws, 122–24; Muslim slaves fleeing from
 Christian owners, 122–26; Portugal, 126;
 pursuit of, 124; Roman Hispania, 122–23;
 Visigothic kingdom, 122–23

gacis (slave soldiers defending Granada), 120
 galley service, 30–31, 52; by *arráeces*, 31;
 captives taken in raids, 31, 52; convicts in
 penal slavery, 30–31; by *forzados*, 30–31
 Gálvez, Catalina de, 13
 gang slavery: Latin America, 23, 155–56;
 Roman Hispania, 15–16, 19
 González, Fernando, 131
 González Docón, Pedro, 140
 Granada, Christian: artisan workshops, 107;
 independent agents, 109–10; internal slave
 market, 68, 71; lives of freed slaves, 144–45;
 manumissions, 136, 137, 139, 211n100; Mar-
 tín Casares's study, 3–4, 139, 211–12n100;
 men/women slaves, 85; Morisco revolt/
 rebellion, 37–39, 211n100; Morisco slaves
 remaining in, 24–25, 39; numbers of slaves,
 24; religious brotherhoods of African
 Christians, 94–95, 96; slave owners' cate-
 gorization of slaves by skin color, 74
 Granada, Muslim: Christian captives, 12–13,
 34, 40, 41, 44, 49, 179n81; Christian fugi-
 tive slaves, 126; Christian women slaves
 (concubines), 87; conversions to Islam, 40;
 gacis (slave soldiers imported to defend),
 120; intermittent wars with Christian
 states, 12–13, 17–19, 34, 41–52, 179n81;
 Muslim fugitive slaves' escape to, 124–25
 Graullera Sanz, Vicente, 2
 Great Britain: slavery and the British colo-
 nies, 152, 158; slavery in, 11
 Guadalcanal, silver mines of, 31–32
 Güejar, Gaspar de, 108
 Guridi Alcocer, José Miguel, 159
 Guzmán, don Luis de, 125
 Guzmán, Juan de, duke of Medina Sidonia,
 118–19

 Ḥakam I, al-, 57
 Ḥakam II, al-, 57
 Heers, Jacques, 2
 Hernández de Portillo, Pero, 84
hierros (marks of the iron or brand), 75
 Hillgarth, J. N., 7
 Huelva: artisanal workers, 108; manumission
 of children, 137; sale records, 71, 85; work
 of slaves, 108, 112
 Huesca, 40, 117–18
 Hunwick, John, 181–82n4
 Hurtado, Ana, 133
 Hurtado del Val, Juan, 142

 Iberian slavery studies, 1–9; broad compre-
 hensive surveys, 3; complexities, 4–6; data/
 information, 6–8; future research areas, 9;
 and involuntary labor/domestic slavery,
 5, 146–47; locally focused studies, 3–4;
 objectifying terms, 4; periods and places
 emphasized, 6; pre-1980s, 1–2; recent
 works and new interpretations, 4–5; schol-
 arly popularity since late 1980s, 1–4, 163n2;
 women slaves, 3–4
 Ibiza, 34, 35–36. *See also* Balearic Islands
 Ibn Ḥawqal, 121
 independent agents, slaves as, 5, 109–11, 147;
 cortados, 109–10; Muslim Iberia, 109, 147;
 “setmaners,” 110
 Inquisition, 13, 25, 100–101; and animist
 beliefs of sub-Saharan Africans, 194n68;
 fugitive slave confessions, 125–26; manu-
 missions, 132–33
 Iranzo, Miguel Lucas de, 40

Ireland, slavery in, 11
 Isidore of Seville, 1, 92
 Italy, slavery in, 11

Jaca, Francisco José de, 158

Jaén: decline of slavery, 26; lives of newly freed slaves, 143, 145; manumissions, 139; marked slaves, 76–77; owners of domestic slaves, 106; preference for sub-Saharan Africans over white slaves, 74; religious brotherhoods of African Christians, 94–95; sale records (women/men), 85; work of slaves, 112

Jamán, Addra, 142–43

Jaume I, 33–34, 59, 70, 93

Jerez de la Frontera, battle at, 33

Jews: and Castilian slavery, 61; Muslim Iberia, 18, 32; penal slavery in the Crown of Aragon, 30; as slave owners, 18, 59, 133; as slave traders, 59, 181n2; Visigothic restrictions on slaveholding, 128, 141

Jiménez, Francisco, 89

Jódar, Luis de, 91

Juan II, 37

Juana, Queen, 36–37, 132

languages of slaves, 80, 148

Lanzarote: coastal raids, 43–44, 62–63, 125; internal slave market, 71–72; men/women slaves, 85; Moriscos of, 37, 175n33. *See also* Canary Islands

Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 152, 156, 214n10; *The History of the Indies*, 156

Latin America. *See* Americas, slavery in

Latino, Juan, 144

Law of Moret, 159–60

Ledesma, Martín de, 157

Leovigild, King, 123

Lepanto, battle of, 25, 52

Lewis, Bernard, 150, 181–82n4

life as a slave, 7–8, 11–14, 79–102; agency, 8, 79, 133; beginning and adaptation, 80–82, 148; captives' stories, 44–49; Christian captives taken by Muslim raids, 12–13, 45, 47–49; clothing/dress, 81–82, 148; concubinage, 5–6, 8, 28–29, 85–90, 147–48; crime and punishment, 98–102; family and marriages, 90–91; gender ratios, 3–4, 71–72, 84–85; health, illness, and death, 97; language, 80, 148; legal conditions, 82–84; life stories, 7–8, 11–14; manumitted

slaves (life as a freed slave), 141–45, 149; masters' authority, 98–99, 147–48; the master's household, 80, 146–47; miraculous intervention stories, 45–47; new names, 80–81; religion, 91–97, 148

Linares, Catalina de, 87

Lisbon House of Slaves (Casa dos Escravos de Lisboa), 65

Llull, Ramon, 101–2

Lobo Cabrera, Manuel, 2, 62

López de Haro, Diego, 31

López Molina, Manuel, 126, 139

Lovejoy, Paul, 166n2

Low Countries, slavery in, 11

Lucena: freed slaves, 142; internal slave market, 71; manumissions, 136, 139; men/women slaves, 85

Lugo, Alonso de, 36–37

Madeira, 36, 64; sugar-cane agriculture, 22, 114–15, 153

Madrid, early modern noble slaveowners of, 119

Málaga: captives taken by raids, 12–13, 36; early modern decline of slavery, 26; as fugitive slaves' destination, 125; internal slave market, 68; masters' punishment of slaves, 101; reconquest and enslavement of Muslims, 36; religious brotherhoods of African Christians, 95; sale records, 112–13; slave owners' categorization of slaves by skin color, 74–75; women slaves, 85; work of slaves, 112–13

Malberán, Francisco, 13

Mallorca: agricultural work, 112; concubinage, 88, 89; crime and punishment, 99; groups of runaway/fugitive slaves, 125; independent agents ("setmaners"), 110; internal slave market, 69–70; legal conditions of slavery, 84; lives of freed slaves, 143–44; manumissions, 132–33, 134–36, 137, 138, 210n69; men/women slaves, 85, 112; the *mestre de Guaita*, 84, 99; Muslim slave rebellion (1374), 99, 101; Muslim slaves' conversion to Christianity, 92–93; numbers of slaves, 7; reconquest and enslavement of Muslims, 33; religious brotherhoods, 96; slave owners' categorization of slaves by skin color, 72–73; slaves' clothing/dress, 82; slaves owning slaves, 205n78

Mamluks, 119–20

- Manli, Hamet, 13
- Manresa, 85
- Manrique, Juan, 41
- Mansur, al-, 57
- manumission, 4, 5, 9, 126–45, 148–49; *ahorramiento*, 130; automatic, 129, 130–31, 137; by baptism and conversion, 133–34; and *carta de alforria* (Portugal), 132; Castile, 129–31; children, 129, 137, 138–39; Christian Iberia, 129–35, 141–45; by Christian public and church authorities, 131–33; Christian/non-Christian masters and Christian/non-Christian slaves, 133–34, 210n59; contracts and *talla* payments, 135–36; court cases, 133, 140, 148; granted by masters/owners, 5, 84, 88–89, 127, 128, 129–31, 133–35, 138, 148; and the Inquisition, 132–33; by last wills and testaments, 5, 88–89, 130, 134–35, 138, 148; law code (*Siete Partidas*), 129–31, 133, 137, 140, 141, 142; legal mechanisms for gaining freedom, 127–33; lives of newly manumitted slaves, 141–45, 149; Muslim Spain and Islamic law, 128–29; new scholarly interpretations, 4; notarial documents, 11–12, 130, 134–35, 138, 148; older adults, 139–40; by others' purchase, 5, 135–37; Portugal, 132; prices for, 135, 210n66; raising money for, 135–37; rates of, 139–40; and religious confraternities, 140; revoked documents and reenslavement, 141–42; Roman Spain, 127–28, 208n28; self-purchase, 5, 135–37; and slaves' marriages, 91; Visigothic period, 117, 128
- manumitted slaves (freed slaves), 141–45, 149; behavioral requirements toward former masters, 141; blacks of African origin (and assimilation), 143, 144–45; and law codes (*Siete Partidas*), 141, 142; poverty/charity, 142–43; racial discrimination, 144–45; reenslavement, 141–42; Roman Spain, 15–16, 141; successful lives, 143–44; Visigothic freedmen, 141; women, 142, 143–45
- Marín, Pero, 46
- marked slaves, 75–77; brand marks, 76; descriptions in notarial documents, 76–77; *hierros* (marks of the iron or brand), 75; scars (*cicatrices*), 75–76; tattoos, 75
- Marmon, Shaun, 181n4
- marriages, slaves', 90–91, 194n58
- Martial, 111
- Martín Casares, Aurelia: on late sixteenth-century Granada, 3–4, 139, 211–12n100; on scholars' use of terms that objectify slaves, 4; on slave markings, 75, 188n90
- Mas i Forners, Antoni, 7
- medieval Spain. *See* Christian Spain, medieval
- Medina, Pedro de, 44
- Medina Sidonia, 118–19
- Mendoza y Solís, Fernando de, 102
- Mercado, Tomás de, 156
- Mercedarians, 50, 51–52
- mines: penal slavery and labor in, 31–32; Roman Hispania, 115–16
- Minorca, 20, 33–34
- miraculous intervention stories, 45–47
- Mironis, Arnallus (and wife Arsendis), 59
- Moirans, Epifanio de, 158; *Servi liberi seu naturalis mancipiorum libertatis iusta defensio*, 158
- Montúfar, Alonso de, 157
- Moriscos, 12–13, 37–39, 150, 214n8; enslavement of, 38–39; expulsion, 24–25, 39, 93, 110; as independent agents (*cortados*), 110; revolt/rebellion, 37–39, 211n100; slave trading by, 37–38; tax for coastal defense (*farda de la mar*), 42
- Mosto, Alvise da, 76
- Mozarabs, 18
- Mudejars: in Crown of Aragon, 20–21, 30; manumissions in Valencia, 136; and Muslim raids on Christian vessels, 41; penal slavery, 30; and reconquest of Toledo, 32–33
- Muhammad b. Hashim, ruler of Zaragoza, 51
- Muñoz, Catalina, 12
- Muntaner, 20, 33–34
- Muntornés, Francesc, 124
- Münzer, Hieronymus, 36, 54, 67–68
- Murcia: donations to the church, 71; Inquisition tribunal, 13; internal slave market, 71; lives of freed slaves, 144; men/women slaves, 85; numbers of slaves, 24; Reconquest and Muslim captives, 34; slave owners' categorization of slaves by skin color, 75, 76
- Muslim Iberia (al-Andalus), 16–19, 55–58; Arabic language, 80; Byzantine Christians, 18, 56; children born to slave mothers, 28, 86, 129; Christian and Jewish slave holding and head taxes, 18; Christian slaves, 18, 80, 126; concubinage, 6, 86–87; dhimmī (Jews

Muslim Iberia (*cont'd*)

and Christians), 32; domestic servants, 105; educated slave women, 87; eunuchs, 56, 117, 121; expansive phases, 17; fugitive slaves, 126; imported Slavs (*saqāliba*), 18, 56, 57, 116–17; independent business agents, 109, 147; innovations of Muslim slavery, 18; institutional owners, 116–17; intermittent wars with Christian states, 12–13, 17–19, 34, 41–52, 179n81; internal slave market, 66; Islamic law (Qur'an and *Hādith*), 82, 83, 128–29; manumission, 128–29; modern scholarship, 6; North African Berbers, 18, 56, 72; numbers of captives, 17; slave marriages, 90; slave owners' categorizations of skin color, ethnicity, and geographical origin, 72; slave soldiers, 18, 57, 119–20; slave trade (imported slaves), 17–18, 55–58, 181–82n4; sub-Saharan African slaves, 18, 57–58; and tradition of slavery on the Arabian Peninsula, 16–17, 32, 80, 168n16; women slaves, 6, 66, 72, 86–87, 105, 129

names of slaves, 80–81, 190n6

Napoleon Bonaparte, 158

Navas de Puebla, 38–39

Las Navas de Tolosa, battle at, 33

N'Damba, Albert, 139

New World slavery. *See* Americas, slavery in noble slaveowners, 118–19

notary records (notarial documents), 7–8, 112–13; descriptions of slave markings, 76–77; indicating skin color, 150; manumission, 11–12, 130, 134–35, 138, 148; wills, 5, 88–89, 130, 134–35, 138, 148

numbers of slaves, 6–7, 10–11; Atlantic slave trade, 65–66, 149; Christian Spain, 10–11, 23, 24; by percentage of population, 24; Portugal, 24; by region, 24; Roman Hispania, 10, 15, 168n12

Núñez, Constanza, 130

Olid, Alvaro de, 44

Oliveira, Fernão, *Arte de Guerra no Mar*, 157

Oran, 37, 43, 50, 136, 144

Origo, Iris, 146–47

Orsini-Avila, Françoise, 139

ownership, slave: church slaves, 92, 117; educated Muslim slaves of Christian officials, 118; individual monks/nuns or

monasteries/convents, 117; institutional owners, 115–18; noble slaveowners, 118–19; by slaves, 121, 205n78. *See also* capture and enslavement of freeborn people; manumission

Palma, Juan de, 70

Palos, 24, 112, 171n44

Paredes, García de, 137

peculium, 127

Pedro IV of Aragon, 118

penal slavery, 29–32

Peratallada, Guillermo de, bishop of Gerona, 117

Pere, King, 34

Pérez Mazanedo, Alonso, 109

Pesagno, Manuel, 35

Pike, Ruth, 2

Planas Roselló, Antonio, 7

Polybius, 116

Porras, Cristóbal de, 95

Portugal: agricultural work, 113; black Christian slaves, 96–97; Brazilian slavery, 23, 149, 154–55, 158, 160; concubinage/prostitution, 89; decline of slavery, 27; fugitive slaves, 126; historians of slavery in, 2; independence from Spain, 25; independent agents, 110; Lisbon House of Slaves (Casa dos Escravos de Lisboa), 65; manumission by authorities, 132; Muslim slave system, 21, 96; numbers of slaves, 24; raids and privateering, 35; salt production, 107; seamen, 110; and Seville's internal slave market, 69; slave owners, 110; slave trade, 22, 62–66, 69, 152–53; slave trade in the Americas, 22, 152–53; slaves' names, 81. *See also* Americas, slavery in

Prado, Guillermo de, 89

prices, 6–7, 71–72; internal slave markets, 71–72, 73, 85; for manumission, 135, 210n66; and slaves' ages, 71; women slaves, 71–72, 74, 85

Puente, Cristina de la, 181–82n4

Puerto Rico, 159–60

Qaysi, 'Abd al-Karīm al, 45

race and ethnicity: *de color de membrillo cocho*, 73–74; *ladinos*, 73–74; manumitted slaves and racial discrimination, 144–45; *mulatos*, 73–74; Muslim Spain, 72; *negros*,

- 73; new directions/future research, 9; and non-Muslim sub-Saharan Africans in the Americas, 150–51; and prices, 73; slave owners' categorization by skin color, ethnicity, or geographical origin, 72–75, 76, 150; slave trade, 72–75
- raids: across religious lines, 21, 34–36; Christian raids on North Africa, 35, 43–44, 52–53; coastal and sea raids (and corsairs), 12–13, 21, 26, 34, 35, 41–44, 52–53; eighteenth-century changes in corsair activities, 26, 52–53; land raids, 34, 41; and medieval slavery in Crown of Aragon, 59–60; Muslim coastal raids, 34, 43–44, 48–49; Muslims captured, 21, 32, 34–37, 41–43, 59–60, 147
- ransoming, 49–52; and difference between captives and slaves, 39–40; Muslim captives of Christians, 51; mutual prisoner exchanges and repatriation treaties, 49–50, 179n81; personal exchanges, 51; raising money to recompensate ransomers, 52; ransoming agents, 49–50; religious orders coordinating, 50, 51–52
- Reccared, King, 92
- Recceswinth, King, 98
- Reconquest, 19, 32–37; capture and enslavement of Muslims, 32–37, 41; raids across religious lines, 21, 34–35
- Reixac, Antoni, 137
- religion and slaves' lives, 91–97, 148; animism, 194n68; baptisms, 93, 133–34; Christian brotherhoods/confraternities, 50, 51–52, 94–97, 140, 145; Christian Spain, 92–97; conversion to Christianity, 25, 81, 92–93, 133–34; conversion to Islam, 40, 48; manumission and baptism, 133–34; manumission and holy orders, 130; Portugal, 96; Roman cults, 91–92; Visigothic church slaves, 92, 117
- religious confraternities (*cofradías*): black slaves in late medieval/early modern Christian Spain, 93–97, 145; *confradía* of Nuestra Señora de Gracia (Valencia), 94, 140; coordinating ransoming of Christian captives, 50, 51–52; and manumission, 140; Portugal, 96; and racial discrimination, 145
- Riḍwān (grand vizier of Granada), 12
- Robles, Fernando de, 125
- Rocha, Manuel Ribeiro, 158
- Rodríguez, Cristóbal, 70
- Rodríguez, Jarbel, 40
- Roman Hispania, 15–16; agricultural work, 111; artisanry (commerce and manufacturing), 106, 147; captives becoming slaves, 15, 168n12; capture and enslavement of freeborn people, 32; children born to slave mothers, 28; children sold/abandoned into slavery, 29; concubinage (prostitution), 86; conditions and work of slaves, 15–16; crime and punishment, 98; decline of slavery in, 16; domestic servants, 104, 198n4; eunuchs, 120–21; *familia Caesaris* (administrative slaves), 116, 120; freed slaves (*liberti*), 15–16, 141; fugitives, 122–23; gang slavery, 15–16, 19; the individual slave's *peculium*, 127; legal conditions (Roman law), 82, 83, 127–28; manumission, 127–28, 208n28; mine workers, 115–16, 147; modern scholarship, 6; numbers of slaves, 10, 15, 168n12; public service jobs, 115–16; religion (cults), 91–92; and “slave society,” 15, 16, 168n14; slave trade, 55
- Rundi, Abū al-Baqā' al-, 33
- Sabet, Jordi, 88
- Salas, Juan, 89
- Salicrú i Lluç, Roser, 4
- salt production, 106–7
- Salvago, Cristóbal, 88–89
- San Pedro Mártir, convent of, 81
- Sandoval, Alonso de, 157
- Santa Ana, José de, 13, 167n9
- Santamaría Aránde, Álvaro, 7
- Santiago (St. James), 46
- Sanz de Lanes, Eneco, 40
- ṣaqāliba* (imported Eastern European slaves in al-Andalus), 17–18, 56–57, 116–17
- Saqāṭī, Muḥammad al-, 72, 77
- Sardinia, 60
- Saunders, A. C. de C. M., 2, 65
- Scandinavia, slavery in, 11
- scholarship. *See* Iberian slavery studies
- Schwartz, Stuart B., 214n13
- Scipio Africanus, 15
- Segovia: educated Muslim slaves of Christian officials, 118; health of slaves, 97; work in royal mint, 81, 97, 118
- setmaneras* (weekly wage workers), 82, 110
- Seville: artisan workshops, 107–8; concubinage, 88–89, 193n44; domestic slavery, 105; fugitive slaves, 124; gender ratios, 71, 85;

Seville (*cont'd*)

health/illnesses of slaves, 97; historians of, 2; independent agents (apprentices), 109; internal slave market, 68–69, 70, 71, 73; laws prohibiting slaves from carrying arms and limiting assembly, 100; manumissions, 139, 140; numbers of slaves, 24; purchasers of artisanal slaves, 107–8; reconquest (and enslavement of Muslims), 33; Santa Hermandad (paramilitary police), 100; slave owners' categorization of slaves by skin color, 73; slaves' religions, 93–94, 96; taxes on slaves, 69

Sharishī, al-, 87

Las Siete Partidas (thirteenth-century Castilian law code), 21, 79, 122; crime and punishment, 98–99, 100; and fugitive slaves, 123; and manumission, 129–31, 133, 137, 140, 141, 142; and slavery in the Americas, 21, 22; on three ways of becoming a slave, 28

Sisebut, King, 141

slave markets, internal, 66–72, 77–78. *See also* slave trade; traffic in slaves

slave revolts, 101

“slave society,” 10–11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22–23, 168n14; Americas, 22–23, 154; Finley's scheme, 10, 166n2; Roman Spain, 15, 16, 168n14

slave trade, 54–66, 147, 149; African slaves, 57–58, 63–66, 69; and the Black Death, 21, 35, 60; Canary Islands, 61–63, 67–68, 73; Christian Spain, 22, 58–66; Crown of Aragon, 59–61; Greek slaves, 60; Jewish slaves, 61; Muslim al-Andalus, 17–18, 55–58, 181–82n4; Muslim slaves, 59–60, 61; Portuguese, 22, 62–66, 69, 152–53; Sards, 60; and slave ownership by non-Christians, 59; transatlantic, 22, 65–66, 149, 150–53; Turkish and Armenian slaves, 60–61; turning points affecting the geography of, 21–22; Visigothic, 55. *See also* traffic in slaves

Slavs, 17–18, 56–57, 80, 116–17, 120, 152; *saqālība*, 17–18, 56–57, 116–17

Sobrer, Guillem, 124

soldiers, slave, 119–20; defense of Almería, 111; defense of Muslim Granada, 120; *gacis*, 120; Mamluks, 119–20; Muslim Spain, 18, 57, 119, 120; Visigothic, 119

Soler, Jaume, 123

Solís, Isabel de, 87

Soto, Domingo de, 157

Soto y Company, Ricardo, 7

Spanish American Empire. *See* Americas, slavery in

Stella, Alessandro, 3, 192n35; *Histoires d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique*, 3

Sudan, 57–58

sugar industry, 22, 109, 114–15, 153

Sunyer, Andreu, 88

Sureda, Catalina, 143–44

Sweet, James H., 150

taifa kingdoms, 57, 120*talla* payments, 135–36

taxes: Castilian *alcabala* and *almojarifazgo*, 69; Castilian *moneda foránea*, 23; *farda de la mar* (on Moriscos for coastal defense), 42; head taxes for slave holders, 18; Muslim Spain, 18; royal dues collection by the Lisbon House of Slaves, 65; on slave sales, 69; on those with free servants, 23

Tello, Nicolás, 125

Tenerife, 36, 54, 67, 138. *See also* Canary Islands

Third Council of Toledo, 92

Third Order of the Franciscans, 51–52

Toledo: manumission documents and reenslavement, 141–42; numbers of slaves, 24; reconquest, 32–33

traffic in slaves, 54–78, 149; ages and prices, 71; donations, 70–71; fraud in slave sales, 77–78; internal slave markets, 66–72, 77–78; marked slaves, 75–77; prices of slaves, 71–72, 73, 85; re-export trade between Iberia and Italy, 78; sales transactions, 69–70; skin color, ethnicity, and geographical origin, 72–75; women, 69–70, 71–72, 74. *See also* Americas, slavery in; slave trade

Trinitarians, 50, 51–52

umm walad, 86, 129, 208n34

Valcanell, Pere, 138

Valencia: artisanal workers, 107, 108; chief bailiff (*bayle general*), 29, 67, 132; domestic slavery, 104; internal slave market, 66–68; law codes, 29, 92–93; manumissions, 132, 133, 136, 138, 140, 212n108; merchant purchasers of slaves, 107; Muslim slave fugitives, 124–25; numbers of slaves, 24; penal slavery, 29; reconquest and Muslim

- captives, 34; religious brotherhoods of African Christians, 94, 140; scholars of, 2; self-sale into debt slavery, 29; slave marriages, 194n58; slave ownership by non-Christians, 59, 133; slaves' conversions, 92–93
 Valladolid, early modern noble slaveowners of, 119
 Valladolid, Juan de, 94
 Vera, Leonor de, 101
 Vergara, Alfonso de, 36
 Vergara, Pedro de, 138
 Verlinden, Charles, 1–2, 7
 Vic, 61, 85
 Vincent, Bernard, 3, 112–13
 Visigothic kingdom, 6, 16; and Arian Christianity, 16, 55, 123; capture and enslavement of freeborn people, 32, 55; church slaves, 92, 117; crime and punishment, 98; Crown slaves (*servi fiscales*), 116; domestic servants, 104, 111; fugitives, 122–23; legal rights of slaves, 82–83; manumission, 117, 128, 141; penal slavery, 29–30; restrictions on Jewish slaveholding, 128, 141; rural slaves, 111; slave marriages, 90; slave trade, 55; slaves as combat troops, 16; slaves of nobility (*idonei*), 111; wars against the Catholic Franks, 55
 Vitoria, Francisco de, 157

 War of the Spanish Succession, 44
 wet nurses, 89–90, 106

 Wiedemann, Thomas, 198n4
 wills and manumission, 5, 88–89, 130, 134–35, 138, 148
 women slaves, 3–4, 20, 147; children born to, 6, 28–29, 87–89, 129, 147–48; clothing/dress, 82; concubinage, 5–6, 8, 20, 85–90; domestic slavery, 103–6; and fraud in slave sales, 77–78; internal slave markets, 66, 69–70, 71–72, 74, 85; as majority of slaves, 3, 71–72, 84–85; manumission, 142, 143–45; Martín Casares on, 3–4; murder of masters, 102; Muslim Iberia, 6, 66, 72, 86–87, 105, 129; owners' categorizations of skin color, ethnicity, and geographical origin, 72; prices, 71–72, 74, 85; tattoos, 75
 work as a slave, 103–21; agricultural and construction ventures of nobles, 118–19; agriculture, 5, 111–13; Americas, 23, 155–56; artisanry, 5, 106–9, 147; church slaves, 117; domestic slavery and its variations, 5, 23, 103–6, 146–47; elite/educated Muslim slaves of Christian officials, 118; eunuchs, 38, 56, 117, 120–21; independent agents, 5, 109–11, 147; institutionally owned slaves, 115–18; mining operations, 31–32, 115–16, 147; public works, 31–32, 115–16, 118; Roman administrative slaves (*familia Caesaris*), 116; slave soldiers, 119–20; sugar industry, 22, 109, 114–15, 153; Visigothic Crown slaves (*servi fiscales*), 116

 Zaragoza, 51, 52, 85

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